ARCHAEOLOGY AND ORAL HISTORY AT THE STANLEY MISSION OLD VILLAGE

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Abstract

The Stanley Mission Old Village site (GiNd-11) is located in northern Saskatchewan along the Churchill River. The mission settlement, established in 1851, was situated on the north shore of the river and consisted of several buildings, including Holy Trinity Anglican Church, the parsonage, the schoolhouse, numerous Cree cabins, and the Revillon Frères complex. Previous investigations at the site, both surface surveys and excavations, yielded many artifacts and a Cree cabin foundation. The modern-day settlement of Stanley Mission is now positioned on the south side of the Churchill River, but the history of the community remains rooted at its original location. The only surviving features there are Holy Trinity Church and the cemetery.

This thesis focuses on the archaeological data collected from the 2006 and 2007 field seasons during which a Cree cabin was excavated revealing building remains and producing thousands of artifacts. The historical research in this thesis draws upon the information gathered from the oral history interview sessions with local Elders conducted in 2001 and 2006. As well, other sources such as trader and missionary journals, archival photographs, and historic maps were consulted to establish a more holistic and complete history of the mission presenting the views of both local Cree people and Europeans.

The information acquired from all lines of evidence was integrated to gain a better understanding of life at Stanley Mission during the later 1800s through to the 1970s. This included daily activities within the community, items purchased at the trading posts, the organization and layout of the Cree cabins, cabin construction, and a specific emphasis on one cabin once thought to be owned by Murdoch McKenzie. After a thorough examination it has

been determined that the cabin in question is older than previously thought and likely was one of the first cabins built at the mission.

Acknowledgements

I would first like to thank my advisor Dr. Margaret Kennedy who has encouraged and guided me throughout my archaeological education at the U of S. Her love for historical archaeology has been inspiring. I also want to acknowledge Dr. David Meyer and Dr. Alison Maingon, members of my thesis committee, for their suggestions and assistance during the past years.

I am much appreciative of Dr. Margaret Hanna and the Royal Saskatchewan Museum for giving me the opportunity to be a part of this project. Margaret and the rest of the field crew, including Dr. Evelyn Siegfried, were great teachers and colleagues – I learned so much during the time we worked together, thank you. Our field seasons would not have been a success without the ongoing support and interest of the Stanley Mission Elders and the Stanley Mission Band Office. I would specifically like to mention the Elders with whom I had the opportunity to talk with: Elizabeth Charles, Helen Visentine, and Rosie McKenzie.

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Abbreviations

CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CCS	Cambridge Camden Society
CMS	Church Missionary Society
COHA	Canadian Oral History Association
HBC	Hudson's Bay Company
KAYĀS	*KAYĀS* (A Long Time Ago): The Elders Remember the Old Village – 2000 interview transcripts included in Hanna 2001a
MNI	Minimum Number of Individuals
NISP	Number of Identified Specimens
RSM	Royal Saskatchewan Museum
T&E	Tools and Equipment (Nomenclature for Museum Cataloguing)
SMEGI	Stanley Mission Elders Group Interview 2006 (with Elders Elizabeth Charles, Helen Visentine, and Rosie McKenzie)

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

In 1999, The Royal Saskatchewan Museum (RSM) began an archaeological research project that focussed on an important historical location within Saskatchewan, the original settlement of Stanley Mission. The Stanley Mission Old Village site (GiNd-11) is located in northern Saskatchewan, directly across from the contemporary community of Stanley Mission (Figure 1.1). In the mid 1800s, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) permitted missionaries to settle and establish missions in Rupert's Land along trade routes. In 1852, Reverend Robert Hunt moved to this remote area and initiated the construction of the first mission buildings on a prominent point on the north bank of the Churchill River. Although the fishing was not sufficient to support a community, it did provide suitable land for horticultural developments, was safe from flooding, and had direct access to a significant trading network on the Churchill; these being a few of the foremost concerns for the Church Missionary Society (CMS).

Of the first buildings constructed, the most extraordinary, and only one still standing today, is Holy Trinity Anglican Church. Being a mission site, the church became the corner-stone of the community, bringing everyone together during holidays to worship. Some of the other buildings included the parsonage, school house, the Revillon Frères trading post, and the many cabins inhabited by the local Cree people from May to August.

The Native people in the surrounding area followed a cyclical lifestyle, living at their traplines for most of the year and making return trips back to the mission. The summer time was when the village of Stanley Mission came alive; families would congregate here during the warm part of the year to plant and tend gardens, fish, hunt, hold dances, and go to church. In the fall, everyone would pack their things and head back to their traplines where they would stay until the next spring. Some trips were made back to the village if any supplies were needed or to attend the church services at Christmas and Easter.

Around 1920, reserve land was set out on the south bank of the river next to the HBC store and buildings. Cree families were encouraged to relocate to the opposite side of the river from the mission and by the early 1970s, everyone had moved to the south side, leaving Holy Trinity to stand alone. All that remains today of this mission community is the church and cemetery (Figure 1.2). The area encompassing the church yard is now designated as both a National and Provincial Historic Site. The structural and aesthetic aspects of the church have been preserved and maintained over the years, promoting the long life of this building; and, as a result of these conservation measures, it is presently the oldest standing building in Saskatchewan.

As for the archaeological work at the site, several field seasons have been conducted by Margaret Hanna, formerly of the RSM In 2001, the crew stumbled quite unexpectedly upon the remains of a cabin. Several Elders of the community became involved in the research by providing valuable information about life in the early years at Stanley Mission and about who may have lived in this cabin. The Elders have been extremely supportive and helpful throughout the life of this research project, visiting the site, helping with the excavation, engaging in numerous conversations about what they remember when growing up, and even participating in interviews where their recollections were recorded. The collection of the Elders' accounts contributes to the oral history aspect of the research project.

1.2 Research Objectives

This thesis will focus on the information gathered during the 2006 and 2007 field seasons, which included both archaeological investigations and interviews with Elders. The excavation continued at the Cree cabin and worked towards determining the size of the structure. At the same time, the crew was able to uncover specific characteristics of the building that unveiled the layout, orientation, and building techniques. The excavation also produced thousands of artifacts over the two years and these, along with the features that were uncovered, will be described and analyzed.

There are several goals for this research project, but the ultimate objective is to bring together all forms of archaeological, historical, and archival information regarding the original settlement of Stanley Mission. By using the information gained from artifacts, journals, archival

photographs, survey maps, HBC records, and the Elder accounts, I hope to build a more complete and comprehensive history of life in the settlement throughout the duration of the Mission.

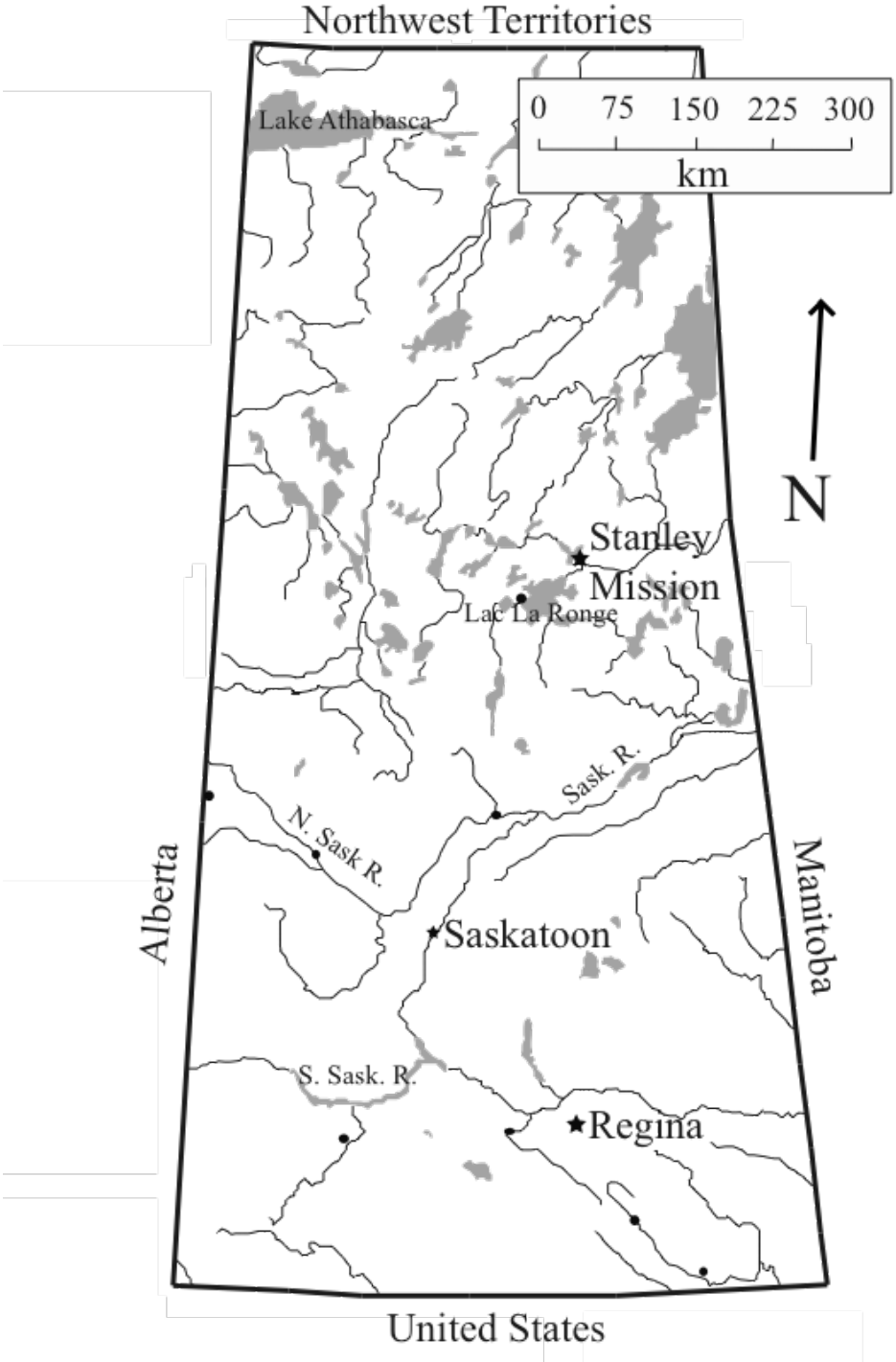

Figure 1.1: Map displaying the location of Stanley Mission in Saskatchewan (map by author).

Figure 1.2: Satellite image of the Stanley Mission Old Village site (GiNd-11) (Google Earth).

There are three specific objectives in this project. First, I will discuss the remains of the cabin to determine a construction time frame for the building taking into account any identifiable building techniques, the cabin layout, and orientation within the village. I will also include the information obtained from interviews with Elders, archival photographs, and survey maps. Another aspect of this goal is to determine who may have lived in the cabin. By using the documentary archaeology approach, all lines of evidence will be analyzed and evaluated.

Second, the thesis will contain an analysis of the artifacts collected during the two field seasons. I will attempt to answer questions such: as what do the artifacts say about life in the old village, can any of the artifacts be linked to the likely age of the cabin, are there any significant artifact distribution patterns, and can any of the identifiable artifacts be linked to the oral history accounts of the Elders?

And, third, I will explore the approach of using oral history in conjunction with historical archaeology. I will examine the development, evolution, and current status of oral history recording as a common practice in historical studies. There will also be a discussion concerning the usefulness of oral history for historical archaeology projects. Can these two types of research be used together successfully and, specific to this thesis, in what ways did the oral history

approach used in the Stanley Mission project contribute to our understanding of life in the Old Village?

1.3 Thesis Layout

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. Following this introductory chapter, chapter Two discusses the history of the Stanley Mission Old Village including the interconnectedness of the missionaries, local Native people, and traders. Chapter Three gives an overview of the previous archaeological research done at Stanley Mission, pointing out the work of consultants and museum researchers. Chapter Four reports on the methodology used during the excavation of the site and the interviews of Elders. Chapter Five delves into the practice of oral history and its relationship with historical archaeology. It also presents the information obtained from the interviews with the Elders in both 2000 and 2006, emphasizing the discussions about cabin layouts and Murdoch McKenzie's cabin. Chapter Six is concerned with the analysis and interpretations of all artifacts, including faunal and floral material. Chapter Seven takes an in-depth look at the features uncovered at the cabin excavation and discusses the possible events surrounding the destruction of the cabin. Chapter Eight is a comprehensive report on the combination of oral history, historical, and archaeological sources. It will summarize the various lines of evidence and draw conclusions.

Chapter 2

The History of the Stanley Mission Old Village

"Stanley was the prettiest place I had ever seen, with high hills of solid granite running straight up from the water."
(Keighley 1989:70)

S.A. Keighley, HBC employee from 1917-1938
and an independent trader until 1963.

2.1 Pre-contact and Pre-mission Activity

The area along the Churchill River where Stanley Mission is situated almost certainly was an important location for many years before the arrival of traders and missionaries. The Churchill River itself has served as a water highway in northern Saskatchewan for hundreds of years. It essentially links all three prairie provinces, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, by a string of lakes each connected to the next by a river. This specific area has traditionally been important for determining whether an upcoming hunt would be successful. Stories about this tradition suggest that if the hunt was predicted to be unsuccessful people would remain at camps in the immediate area along the river, thus indicating there were camps at least for part of the year at this location. A rock face just downstream from the mission has been, in the distant past, a chosen location for ceremonial activities and this can be seen in several rock art images. The following will discuss these events in further detail, outlining their significance to the area and to the establishment of Stanley Mission as a northern community.

Prior to the historic era, this area during the Late Woodland period was occupied by people of the Selkirk culture (A.D. 1300-1700) (Meyer 1995:55). Sites dating to this period produce Selkirk pottery, small side-notched projectile points, and ground stone and bone tools (Meyer 1999:24). Although there have not been any archaeological investigations conducted in the Stanley Mission area in regard to the pre-contact period, there are two places, both rock

cliffs, one just upstream and one downstream of the town site, which are significant in the regional cultural landscape.

The Cree name for the Stanley Mission settlement is *āmaciwispimowinihk*, which translates to English as 'the shooting up place,' referring to a significant rock cliff about 1km north of the settlement (see Kemp 1957:121; Stanley Mission Band; Wolvengrey 2001:546). Traditionally, before heading back to the winter hunting grounds, the hunters would gather at the foot of this cliff and each attempt to shoot an arrow over the top. If the arrow reached the summit, the hunting season would be successful, but if the arrow fell back into the water, it meant a year of bad luck. Rev. Hunt, the first missionary into this area, also heard this story during his station, but he recalled it as about boys testing their aspirations of becoming young men, a "superstitious custom and tradition":

> While yet a respectful distance he must salute the guardian spirit of the rock by a discharge of his gun, he may then approach the face of the rock & secure a confirmation to his title of manhood by shooting an arrow to the very summit of the rock; but if he falls short of the mark he retires till his manhood is more ripe [Hunt 1849-1861: 205].

Hunt's version may differ from the more popular story because he may have obtained this information from one of his guides who was not from the immediate area. Also, he may not have understood their account very well, as English was his first language. It is not known when this annual tradition ceased to take place, but it was an important event in people's lives. The name lives on today and can be seen throughout the community, even as part of the town logo.

The second important archaeological site in the Stanley Mission area is the pictograph located about half a kilometre above Stanley Rapids, some 4 km downstream from Holy Trinity Church. Along three faces of rock there is a series of pictographs that contain several images: a stylized bird-like symbol, a bear, people, several lines, and a man with a gun shooting a large animal (possibly a moose) that is being chased by a dog (Jones 2006:29-32). This last set of images appears to have been painted with the same colour and this suggests that they are contemporaneous (Jones 2006). There are no known dates associated with any of the images, but most of the Precambrian Shield rock paintings are considered to date to pre-contact times (Rajnovich 1994:46-47). The meanings behind the images are also not clear, but the fact that

there are paintings at this location identifies it an important spiritual place along the Churchill and suggests the locale was chosen for a particular reason.

The close proximity of the aforementioned sites implies that this area along the Churchill River was very active, significant, and symbolic to the people of the Selkirk culture and to the local Cree people. By the early 1800s, fur traders and explorers began to infiltrate this region of the north, at that time part of Rupert's Land. The European trading companies were economically drawn to places where there were larger numbers of Native people to ensure a successful trading business (see Meyer and Thistle 1995). This may have been a contributing factor to the location of Stanley Mission and the subsequent relocation of the Hudson's Bay Company's (HBC) Rapid River post.

2.2 Village History

The town of Stanley Mission, which will celebrate its 160th anniversary in 2010, has gone through some remarkable changes since 1850. It was once the location of an Anglican Church mission, a hub of trading along the Churchill River, and a district headquarters for the Church Missionary Society (CMS). The following discusses the history of the village through the duration of the mission station by using sources such as trader and missionary journals, archival photographs, survey records, and books. As this list suggests, it is primarily a European view of the history of the settlement. A native perspective, by contrast, will be explored in Chapter 5.

2.2.1 The Founding of Stanley Mission and Rev. Robert Hunt of the CMS

Throughout the 18th century, the major Christian denominations in England had been focussed on sending missionary expeditions to lands under the rule of the British Empire and by the end of the 1800s there were many well-established missions throughout the world. The CMS, a mission society within the Church of England, had developed religious ties with Australia, New Zealand, and parts of Asia and Africa (Stock 1899). During the mid 1800s, the revival of missionary spirit within the British Empire enticed many ministers to come to Rupert's Land to propagate Christian liturgy and the word of God. As the goal of the missionaries was to teach "the scriptures to heathen peoples," it was only a matter of time before they heard reports of the "uncivilized" cultures in the north-western regions of North America (Goossen 1974:23-

24). These new relations with Rupert's Land were made possible by the joint agreement with the HBC after the fur trade merger of 1821.

The CMS was approached by the Chaplain of the HBC regarding the expansion of mission activity into areas occupied by the Company. The CMS fully supported fur trading in these remote areas and realized that this close relationship would benefit their purpose of establishing missions throughout Rupert's Land. The HBC could also see advantages to having a Christian presence amongst their traders. The "civilization" of the Native people would encourage them to want to dress and act as Europeans, thus promoting more trade and increasing business. There would also be greater safety during travel and these northern communities would provide runners and boatmen for Company transportation (Goossen 1974:37). Both parties could see the advantages of working with one another and this mutual accord propelled the beginnings of a new working relationship (see Goossen 1974 for an in-depth analysis of this partnership).

The CMS was not only interested in bringing Christianity to the remote north, but it was also invested in socially and culturally changing the Native people to reflect a Victorian society. The CMS's plan to both evangelize and civilize centred on creating agriculturally self-sustaining missions that would enable the minister to maintain constant contact with his parishioners which would be an effective method in the acculturation process (Goossen 1974:28). The practices of farming would teach the value of planning and labour, but would also provide a food supply, thus guarding against starvation. To advance their attempts, this strategic plan also involved building schools and teaching children. The HBC's established trade and social structure appealed to the CMS's goal of expanding its mission efforts into Canada and thus another Victorian society goal – the success in commercial pursuits – would be achievable within these new northern communities.

An Anglican mission was set up at the Red River settlement in Manitoba and from there the CMS planned to expand westward. The first step to establish a Christian presence in the English River district was the creation of a mission at The Pas. The Anglican catechist Henry Budd, who was stationed at The Pas, received word that people from the Lac La Ronge area were interested in hearing about Christianity (Pettipas 1972; Tucker 1851:163-164). In 1846, the CMS sent Native catechist James Settee, a product of the Red River Settlement ministry, to this promising mission station where he was instructed to establish a school (Tucker 1851:166). The

Lac La Ronge Mission site, located next to the HBC Rapid River post, had easy access to incoming supplies, transportation, and local Cree traders and their families. Then in 1849, the CMS dispatched clergyman Rev. Robert Hunt along with his wife to the Lac La Ronge mission (Tucker 1851:193). Although this location had some advantages, it did suffer from the lack of suitable land for agricultural developments.

Rev. Hunt began exploring the surrounding area for an appropriate location for a chief station for the new mission. He not only had to scout out a new site for the mission but also had to contend with an ill wife and servants, an infant son, unbearably cold weather, unfinished living accommodations, and isolation. Hunt's journal entries express his frustration with not knowing the district well enough to choose a location on his own and instead having to rely on the Cree people's knowledge of the surrounding lakes and rivers (Hunt 1849-1861). The CMS recommended its missionaries not settle too close to a trading post; they were also encouraged to find a location that had good fishing, good land, and acceptable access to suitable transportation routes (Goossen 1974:101). By 1852, he had narrowed his search down to two potential sites: an area at the mouth of the Sucker River on Lac La Ronge, and a point on the English River (i.e. now known as Churchill River) only 12.9 km north of the Rapid River post.

Hunt's final decision was based on several factors. First, in order to be a self-sustaining enterprise, there needed to be sufficient fishing in the immediate area and a large, plot of level land suitable for agriculture. Second, it was required to be within a reasonable distance of the HBC post, as supplies and mail would be shipped by the Company and to stray too far from this convenient transportation route could cause communication to be lost with England (Goossen 1974:106). On June 6, 1852, Rev. Hunt, accompanied by James Settee and a carpenter, went to examine the potential site on the English River called the Point (Hunt 1849-1861:205). Hunt's first description of this parcel of land is as follows:

> Found it had several advantages to a considerable extent above our present locality. This land is higher & consequently dryer [sic]. There is a larger extent {tho' not an adequate quantity of soil} capable of improvement. But there is not a good fishery in the river. The Co. Com. [Corresponding Committee] will probably think this disadvantage is counterbalanced by its situation on the main river & the greater portion of land, tho' this is <u>by no means adequate for an agricultural settlement of Indians</u> [Hunt 1849-1861:205; emphasis in original transcript].

Hunt was promised that the fishing was excellent along the river both upstream and downstream from this area. Despite his reservations, Hunt concluded that this location along the English River would suffice and instructed the carpenter to begin work straight away on building a house, a school, and a temporary place of worship (Hunt 1849-1861:205-206).

2.2.2 The Mission Development and Activities

During the summer of 1852, Rev. Hunt had been away on Church business and finally returned to the Point, along with his family, in August of the same year. During Rev. Hunt's time here, the location was referred to as Church Mission Point and later renamed Stanley Mission in 1861 to honour Mrs. Hunt's home in England. Upon his return to the Mission site, he discovered that none of the building had commenced except for one house that a man was building for himself. He describes his predicament: "consequently, there was no shelter for my dear wife & baby & myself and Sabina and an Indian girl we brought from the Pas" (Hunt 1849-1861:232). The family slept in a tent until the end of August when Rev. Hunt reported that "we have now got a roof, doors & windows to our log dwelling but no floors and no partitions as yet" (Hunt 1849-1861:234). Hunt began constructing the buildings he thought necessary for the mission. During his stay in Stanley Mission he managed to construct several key buildings including the parsonage, school, carpenter's shop, warehouse, storeroom, barn, and icehouse with help from local Cree people, carpenters, and some HBC men (Saskatchewan Culture and Youth 1982:6). His greatest building achievement, by far, was Holy Trinity Church, which will only be discussed briefly, as it is well documented in the literature.

Holy Trinity Anglican Church, an astonishing architectural feat, stands prominently upon a high point of land looking south over the Churchill River (see Figure 2.1 for map of Old Village). Its construction began in 1854, but faced several problems along the way. On more than one occasion, the stock-pile of squared timbers prepared for the church was burned for firewood and had to be replenished. The shipping of certain building materials caused other delays, contributing to the prolonged construction period (Saskatchewan Culture and Youth 1982:6). Despite these hurdles, Holy Trinity was completed in 1860 and became the cornerstone for the entire community (Figure 2.2).

The church's design is based on Rationalistic and Ecclesiological Gothic Revival architecture that was popular in England during the mid-nineteenth century. As an Anglican

clergyman from Britain, Rev. Hunt's architectural inspiration came from his theological schooling and his ongoing contact with the Church of England. The ideas arising out of this second wave of Gothic Revival were inspired by the standards and opinions of a group of English theology graduates of Cambridge who called themselves the Cambridge Camden Society (CCS) (Brosseau 1980:13). The society stressed the idea of structural rationalism, where decorative details become an integral part of the building structure and are incorporated into religious buildings. This new way of thinking spread very quickly, becoming part of church architecture throughout Canada during the 1840s. This was successfully accomplished through the production of *The Ecclesiologist*, an internal review that was used to distribute news and advice to church designers (Brosseau 1980:14).

The church at Stanley Mission is a characteristic example of this architectural paradigm in Canada, standing out prominently against the backdrop of northern scenery. As Brosseau stated, "the few examples of Cambridge Camden Society influence looked more like exotic fruits in the architectural landscape" (Brosseau 1980:17). Most missionary churches built during this same period were one-room log structures that were eventually replaced with larger buildings, like the Stanley Mission church. But from the beginning, Rev. Hunt had a vision and accepted considerable guidance regarding the construction design as outlined by the CCS Some of these features include the lateral aisles with symmetrical doors, the overall vertical proportions, and extreme simplicity of the architectural décor (Brosseau 1980:94). The CCS would have acknowledged the depiction of the interior plan in the exterior arrangement with the building's structural elements becoming part of the decorative style both inside and out.

Holy Trinity Church went through several rejuvenation projects and refurbishments. An early photograph taken of the church in 1920 reveals that it was painted white (Figure 2.2) at that time, but that was not always the case. For example, Frank Crean's early 20th century exploratory report describes the exterior of the building as being painted red and yellow, "a local pigment mixed with fish oil," and that it had been this way since 1861 (Crean 1911:43). It has also been resided, repainted, and has had the spire replaced twice. Today, the church is painted a brilliant white adorned with a replica of the original spire, maintaining the original architectural vision (Figure 2.3).

The other buildings that were part of the mission complex were positioned further back from the church, towards the tree line (see Figure 2.1). At the time of the

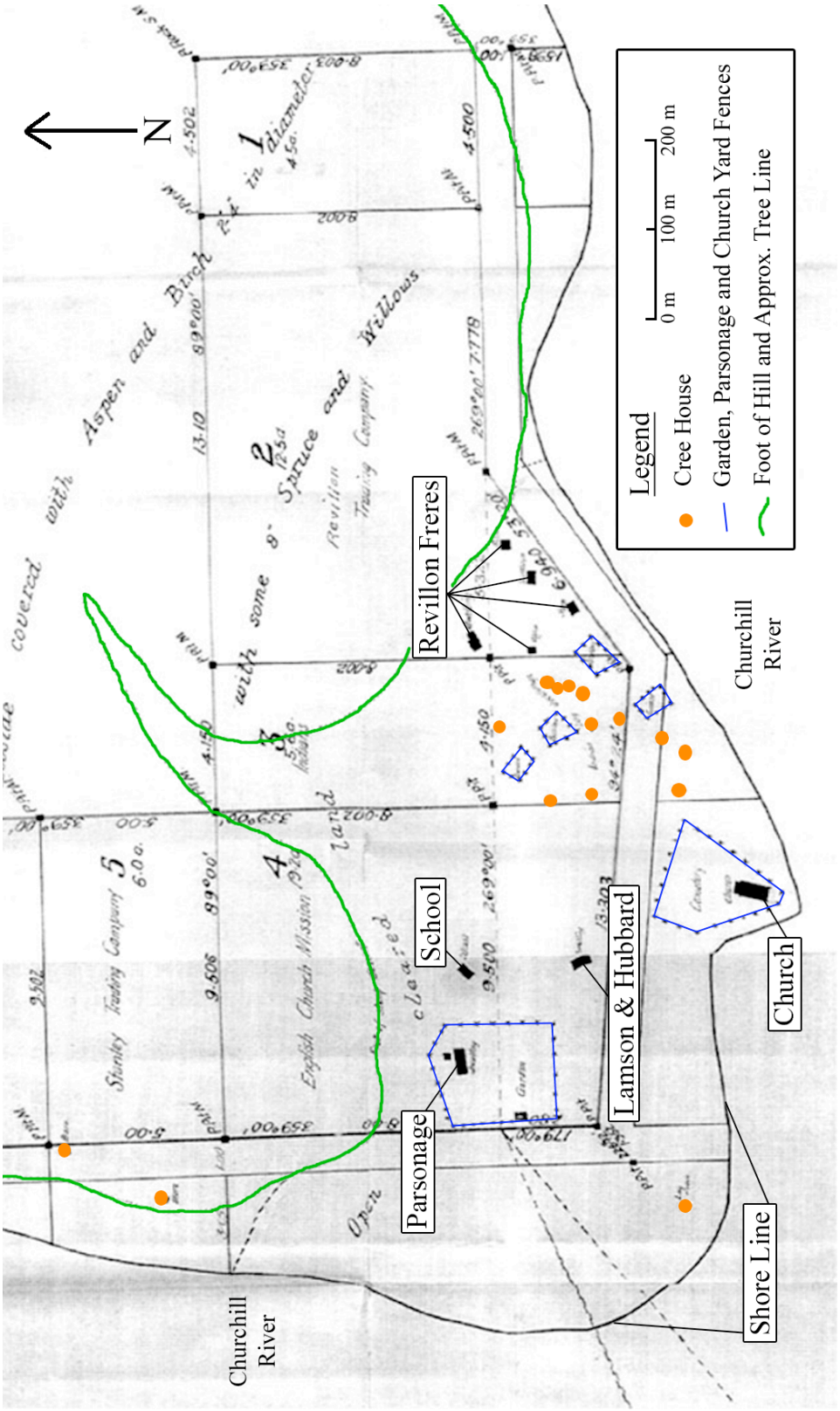

Figure 2.1: Dominion Land Survey map of Stanley Mission (Old Village), prepared by S.D. Fawcett, 1920 (Geomatics Canada, C.L.R.S., F.B. 18548), modified by author.

Figure 2.2: Holy Trinity Anglican Church, Stanley Mission (Old Village), Sept. 1920 (with permission of Saskatchewan Archives Board).


Figure 2.3: Holy Trinity Anglican Church, Aug. 2006.

Dominion Survey in 1920, the parsonage (as seen in Figure 2.4) was situated inside a pentagonal fence and measured 7.3x7.3m (24x24 ft) and included two lean-tos, each 3.0x3.7m (10x12 ft), all being covered by a shingled roof (Fawcett 1920:16-17). The initial house, built by Rev. Hunt, was replaced in 1871 by Rev. John A. Mackay, who added a kitchen. This house was replaced again between 1888-1903 during Rev. Roderick McLennan's time, and then enlarged in 1907 by Rev. James Brown (Saskatchewan Culture and Youth 1982). In 1920, Eleanor Matheson, the Diocesan President of the Women's Auxiliary to the Mission Society, travelled through Stanley Mission and described in her journal that the 1907 renovations consisted of the addition of a second storey and kitchen, but that the current condition was poor and "a new house is badly needed" (Matheson 1969:112). The photograph taken on September 6, 1920 (Figure 2.4) is out of focus, but one can make out the combination of post-on-sill and dove-tail joint construction, the metal chimney extending from the kitchen lean-to, and quite possible a privy attached to the lean-to at the far left (SAB Garner Album p.67 #133). Fawcett (1920:16-17) also recorded the presence of a warehouse with a "rubberoid roof" and an icehouse, both inside the yard fence.

Figure 2.4: Parsonage, Sept. 6, 1920 (with permission of Saskatchewan Archives Board).

Adjacent to the parsonage and outside the fencing lies the school house, seen in Figure 2.5 (refer back to Figure 2.1 for location). The school recorded by Fawcett in the 1920 survey was a log building with a "rubberoid roof," 4.5x7.6m (15x25 ft) in size (Fawcett 1920:16-17).

Figure 2.6, an archival photograph from 1920, depicts the one-room school house on a quiet winter day with the door on the long wall facing the river, a window flanking each side, and a metal chimney extending from the roof at the west end (SAB R-A26643). This building was eventually replaced with a new school, but its location is unknown (Figure 2.7). Both of these schools were constructed using the Red River post-on-sill style of architecture, where the wall logs were stacked on top of each other and slotted into the vertical posts placed at the corners, doors, and windows. The new school is oriented opposite to the previous, with the door on the short wall and the chimney protruding from the roof at the opposite side. The front door is sheltered by a small roof and has a window located in the gable directly above the door (SAB R-A11818).

During the first year of the mission, Hunt focussed on building and maintaining a food supply throughout the winter. He plotted the locations for potato gardens, dug cellars for next year's crop, and also thought ahead about winter fishing (Hunt 1849-1861:235-236). All of the missionaries stationed at Stanley Mission made great efforts to keep the village self-sustaining, particularly Rev. John A. Mackay, who made significant achievements during his thirteen-year posting from 1864-1877. Generally, the agricultural potential of the Canadian Shield region is extremely limited, with a short growing season, dense forest cover, shallow, and poor soil. However, the land surrounding the mission had a good depth of soil and was

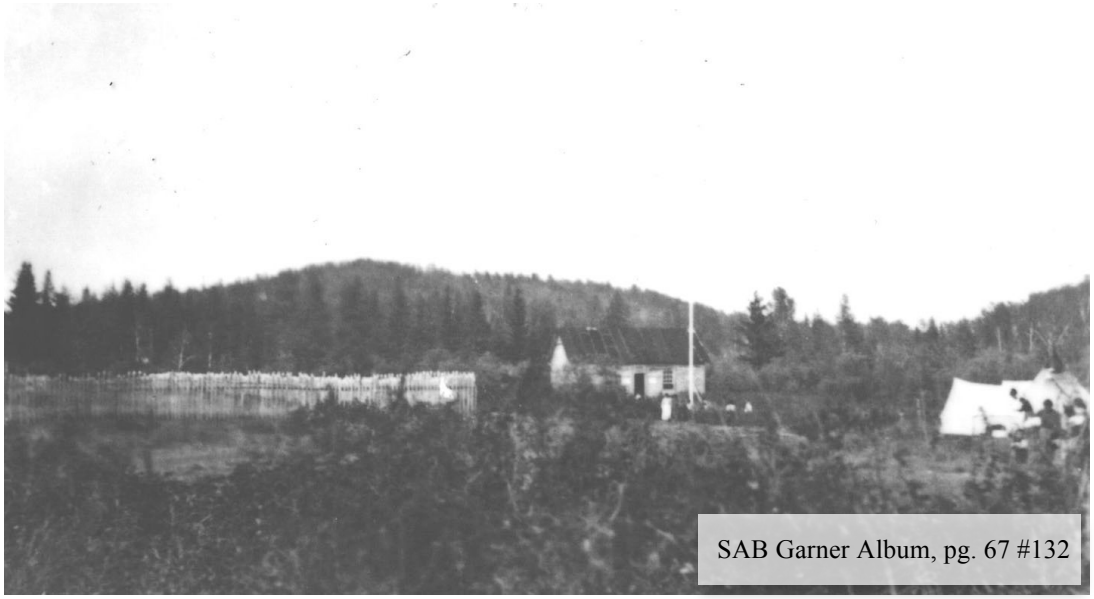

Figure 2.5: School house to the east of the parsonage yard fence, Sept. 6, 1920 (with permission of Saskatchewan Archives Board).

Figure 2.6: School house in the winter, 1920 (with permission of Saskatchewan Archives Board).

Figure 2.7: School house in July 1955 (with permission of Saskatchewan Archives Board).

of sufficient quality for growing different types of crops. Rev. Mackay harvested wheat, barley, and potatoes each year. On Saturday, April 20, 1872 he "thrashed the remainder of our wheat and barley, in all 52 wheat 56 barley…" (Mackay 1963:111). Rev. Mackay's journal reflects an extremely hard-working man who tried to accomplish the unthinkable during his time at the mission and explains that "[i]n fact when I first took charge of Stanley judging from the experience of my predecessors I had no hope of ever being able to raise wheat at Stanley but now after six years' experience I am able to feel confident that wheat will come to perfection in ordinary seasons" (Mackay 1963:101).

Rev. Mackay did not shy away from a challenge. After harvest he processed his grain at a horse-powered grist mill he designed and built himself in 1870-71. On December 6, 1870, he recorded that he was "away all day chopping timber for additional mill wheels as I find that the works which I have already completed do not afford sufficient power" (Mackay 1963:96). In 1873-74 he built another mill, this time water powered, which increased productivity and could benefit the entire community, including the HBC post (Saskatchewan Culture and Youth 1982:11). Another secular duty that took up much of the missionaries' time was chopping wood for fuel. Mackay wrote, as he did in many of his journal entries, "Saturday 19th. – Since last entry [Monday 14th] I have been mostly occupied chopping firewood and bringing it home with the horses" (Mackay 1963:96).

Rev. Mackay also operated a small printing press to produce little books and leaflets, which he found convenient for distributing to people living away from the mission site. He was "able to print them [cards] with prayers and passages of scripture in the syllabic character" (Mackay 1963:107). The Cree syllabics system of writing, created by the missionary James Evans, was known in the Stanley Mission area by the time Rev. Mackay took up residence and he used this familiar character script to spread Christian liturgy to his parishioners scattered across the Churchill River landscape. On May 14th, 1872, he mentioned that he had been occupied with printing all throughout the week and that he finally "completed 200 Cree Almanacks [sic] with a portion of scripture for every week" (Mackay 1963:111). The Reverend took these pamphlets with him on his travels to Ile à la Crosse, the Lac La Ronge Mission station, and visits elsewhere in his district.

Another of the initial goals of the mission was the establishment of a school for the local children. While the missionaries aimed to convert people of all ages, the CMS invested most of

its time with children and their teachings, as they were the best hope for progress (Goossen 1974:29). The boarding school originally run by Rev. Hunt's wife was moved to Lac La Ronge by 1909, as reported by the Diocese of Saskatchewan in their *Report on Indian Missions* (Diocese of Saskatchewan 1909:12). This move occurred shortly after the transfer of the mission headquarters from Stanley Mission to Lac La Ronge in 1905 due to its increased importance as a mission station in the district (Saskatchewan Culture and Youth 1982). Despite this change in status, the school remained in use when children came back to the village with their families and for the traders' children.

The most important duty of the missionaries was their religious obligation to serve the local people and guide them towards what they believed to be a fulfilling life, one that could reach salvation through God. During the summer months when the village was full of people, services were held every morning and again in the evening. At the holidays, Christmas and Easter, larger services would be held in the church to accommodate the sudden influx of people and there would usually be the celebration of Holy Communion (Mackay 1963:96). Throughout the rest of the winter, the school house served as the church, as it was easier to heat the smaller building and the congregation was considerably smaller. The Reverends would also make calls to sick people in their congregation, travelling many miles to comfort and pray with the family. For example, Rev. Mackay recalled, he was "[a]way all day on a visit to a sick woman at Lac La Ronge about eight miles away from the station" (Mackay 1963:95). The missionaries had many aspects to their job description, outlined by the CMS, but ultimately their duties at the village were directly influenced by the cyclical lifestyle of the surrounding Cree people.

2.2.3 The Cree People and Village

The local Cree people seemed to have been drawn to the Mission as soon as the initial construction commenced in the summer of 1852, as Rev. Hunt described in his journal that even though his house had not been completed during his absence, a helper left in charge had been cutting logs for his own house (Hunt 1849-1861: 232). Within the first few weeks of his residence at the Point, Rev. Hunt wrote that several Cree families were wanting to build their houses and gardens near the Mission buildings (Hunt 1849-1861:234). Slowly, houses began to be built as more land was cleared and levelled, all situated adjacent to soil adequate for growing potatoes. On October 2, 1852, Rev. Hunt's journal entry states that, "Jacob Budd began clearing

for his house," and then on October 5, "David McKenzie preparing to build. I promise everyone who settles a fishing net when they begin their house and another when they have cleared land for a crop of potatoes" (Hunt 1849-1861:236). These one-room log houses, similar to the one pictured in Figure 2.8, were, on average, 3.7x4.3m (12x14 ft) in size with a stone chimney along the long wall opposite the doorway (Fawcett 1920:14-15; SAB R-A6960). Most cabins had their doorways facing south towards the river. Many of these cabins would also have a cast-iron stove inside and a fire just outside the door, both used for cooking. The exterior fireplace would also be used for smoking meat. Although it is not clear how many houses were constructed during the fall of 1852, it was quite an accomplishment for Rev. Hunt to have any families at all building at this time of the year as most had already begun the long trip back to their traplines for the winter.

Figure 2.8: Front of a Cree cabin, ca. 1915 (with permission of Saskatchewan Archives Board).

The yearly cycle, as it is sometimes referred to, began in September of every year with families travelling back to their traplines to stay for the winter, leaving the Old Village almost deserted during the cold months. At these times, the only people left at the mission would be the

Reverend, the traders, and their families. The Christmas season saw the return of several Cree families to the settlement for the church services and also to pick up any supplies they would need until spring. Rev. Mackay wrote in his journal on December 18th, 1870, "[m]y congregation is increased by the addition of a few of our people who have arrived for Christmas," and then on the 25th, "[s]ixty-six partook [in the service], which is the largest number that I have ever seen here at Christmas" (Mackay 1963:96). Sydney Keighley, an HBC trader, remembered Christmas as a time when "Stanley was alive again with all the families exchanging news and gossip on the events of the previous months, visiting, courting, partying, and generally having a good time" (Keighley 1989:81). Then shortly after the beginning of the New Year, families would leave once again for their traplines. The Easter celebrations were similar, but were shorter in length due to the risk of an early thaw. This annual rotation of living at the traplines in the winter and relocating to the mission for the summer, develops into a cycle sometime in the early 20th century.

In the spring or early summer, sometime in June, people would return to the Old Village. Keighley, an HBC employee at Stanley Mission, recalled that "[c]onvoys of as many as thirty canoes began coming into the posts… As they came in site [sic] of the post and settlement, there would be a firing of guns, and shooting between canoes, and from canoe to settlement" (Keighley 1989:84). He also found it fascinating that families would all arrive back at the mission within days of one another by watching for the first buds on the trees. He explains that "they had it down to a science… without benefit of calendars, regardless of the distance they had to come" (Keighley 1989:77).

After everyone had "pitched in," there would be tents and teepees everywhere (Keighley 1989:77). These portable shelters seemed to be the preferred summer accommodations, but many families also had log cabins as well. In a 1920 survey, the government surveyor, S.D. Fawcett recorded sixteen cabins on the north side of the Churchill River and three on the HBC side (Fawcett 1920:14-21).The summer months would be filled with visiting, gardening, hunting and fishing, going to school and church, playing with friends, and dancing (Figure 2.9 and Figure 2.10). Dances were held three or four times a week starting at eight in the evening and carrying on until day break, early the next morning (Kemp 1957:166). The cycle would come full circle as the end of summer approached. Families would make their final purchases from the trading posts and load down their canoes in preparation for their trip back to the traplines.

Figure 2.9: Women and children, summer of 1919, church in background (with permission of Saskatchewan Archives Board).

Figure 2.10: Dance held in someone's cabin, ca. 1953 (with permission of Saskatchewan Archives Board).

2.2.4 The Trading Posts

There have been several trading companies located at Stanley Mission, in the Old Village and across the river, almost since the beginning of the mission itself. In 1853, the HBC post at Rapid River relocated to the area directly across from the mission at the narrowest part of the river (see Figure 2.11) (Saskatchewan Culture and Youth 1982:6). The newly formed relationship between the CMS and the HBC was still in its early stages and the relocation of the trading post was practical for both parties. Goossen explains the decision as two-fold: "if the mission needed to keep within reasonable distance to ensure the communication and transportation necessary for survival, the Company wanted it close at hand so that it could be kept under proper surveillance" (Goossen 1974:109). The HBC post remained a constant through the life of the Old Village and survived the competition from the other local companies.

Figure 2.11: Mission settlement on north shore, at the top of the photos, with HBC post situated directly across the river on the south shore [outlined white], ca. 1928 (with permission of Saskatchewan Archives Board, modified by author).

The Lamson and Hubbard Canadian Company had a small store located on the north side of the river (Figure 2.1) northwest of the church yard, which they rented from the mission

(Fawcett 1920:16-17). This fur trade post was short-lived at Stanley Mission, operating from 1919 until 1921 at which point George Moberly, who was in charge, closed down the post with the HBC taking over what merchandise was left (Usher 1971:152; Keighley 1989:71). The entire company failed soon after in 1924 and was taken over by the HBC

The other trading post that was in direct competition with the HBC was the Revillon Frères Company, a French furrier business that expanded into northern Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. The company was incorporated in 1906 and established a warehouse at about the same time in Prince Albert (Innis 1962:368). Outposts were set up in Ile à la Crosse, Buffalo River, Clear Lake, Montreal River, Lac La Ronge, Stanley Mission, The Pas, Cumberland House, Pelican Narrows, Pukatawagan, South Deer Lake, Lac Du Brochet, Casimir, and Nuelton. The Revillon Frères post at Stanley Mission was located on the far east side of the village (see Figure 2.1) and consisted of a log house and office up on the hill and a warehouse, barn, and store below on the river bank. The Revillon Frères Co. and the HBC had a tense relationship characterized by fierce competition. The French company was unable to compete with the HBC during the Depression and it was later acquired by "The Bay" in 1936 (Usher 1971:152).

The life of a fur trader at Stanley Mission was an adventure of a lifetime in terms of the obstacles and challenges he faced daily. Aside from the remoteness of the post, the traders had to deal with surviving the harsh winter climate, navigating lakes and rivers unknown to them, learning a new language, meeting clients, and maintaining friendly business relationships. Laird, an apprentice under Harold Kemp, the Revillon Frères trader, recalled that much of what he learned about trading was from Kemp and that "[Kemp] was a very fluent Cree speaker. He could, and did, dominate a conversation, particularly with a group of Crees…" (Cockburn 1990:13). During the winter when families would remain at their traplines, the traders would trip out to their camps with goods instead of waiting at the store back at Stanley Mission. Sometimes they would be on the trail for weeks at a time, dropping off goods and picking up furs in exchange. Keighley's list of the kinds of goods that were brought to the Cree families paints a picture of dogsleds heaped high with merchandise:

> … flour in twenty-five-pound bags, lots of tea, matches, tobacco, candles in packs of thirty-six, candies for the children, ammunition, files, knives, and axes. In the way of dry goods, we carried towels, underwear, ladies' fleece-lined

> bloomers, long wool stockings in all sizes, heavy wool socks, shirts, pants, bib overalls, caps, yard goods such as duck, flannelette, cotton prints, heavy wool plaids, denim and duffle. Combs, especially fine tooth ones which everyone called louse traps, perfumes, beads, coloured horse-hair skeins, and silk embroidery thread comprised the notions department [Keighley 1989:73].

During the winter, the traders were continually on the trail, hauling goods to camps and then coming back to the post to drop off the furs and reloading the sleds with more supplies.

At the time when Syd Keighley and Harold Kemp were stationed at Stanley Mission, the competition between the two companies was quite fierce. Both men talk about pulling stunts to get a head start out of the village, in order to reach the first camp before the other. Keighley remembers that he "pulled out at any hour of the night hoping to get away unseen, and we spread rumours that we would be going to certain camps and then went off in other directions" (Keighley 1989:72). On the same note, Laird recalled that "the rivalry between the two companies there was bitter: we never saw or spoke to the HBC men – and they never visited us" (Cockburn 1990:13). Although the trading business appeared to have been cutthroat and fast-paced, the traders made some strong friendships with their customers.

While many traders were single men, Harold Kemp was married and had three young boys while living in Stanley Mission. Harold wrote in his memoirs that he and his wife thoroughly enjoyed their time at Stanley Mission and explained that "life in the North is what you make it" (Kemp 1957:164). He then described how his family was welcome in the Cree houses at any time and everyone was welcome in theirs. Their family would attend church with his wife Elsie playing the organ for the services. Elsie also made sure that the mission's medical supplies were updated, ordering a variety of drugs through the post: "Capsolin, Thermofuge, ergot, and camphorated oil…. Dover tablets… and asprin [sic]" (Kemp 1957:167). Their boys grew much attached to the children during the summer and even developed their own language, a mixture of English and Cree, to use amongst their friends. From reading their journals, one can see that the traders truly loved their jobs, where they lived, and the people they met on their journeys across the North.

2.3 The End of the Old Village

Since 1920, families have gradually moved across the river to the south shore where the HBC is situated. Also, more church services were offered on this side of the river – another draw for families settling in the village. Holy Trinity eventually closed for regular service and in 1962 "a winter chapel was open[ed] on the south shore, permitting regular church service there whenever the river crossings were dangerous" (Saskatchewan Culture and Youth 1982:24). By 1973, all of the people who had once lived in the Old Village had relocated to the south side of the river, leaving only the church and a small shed standing as seen in Figure 2.12. Rev. Sam and Mrs. Flora Charles were the last residents to have lived at the Old Village. Holy Trinity is now only used for special occasions, with the church yard still containing the community cemetery (Figure 2.13).

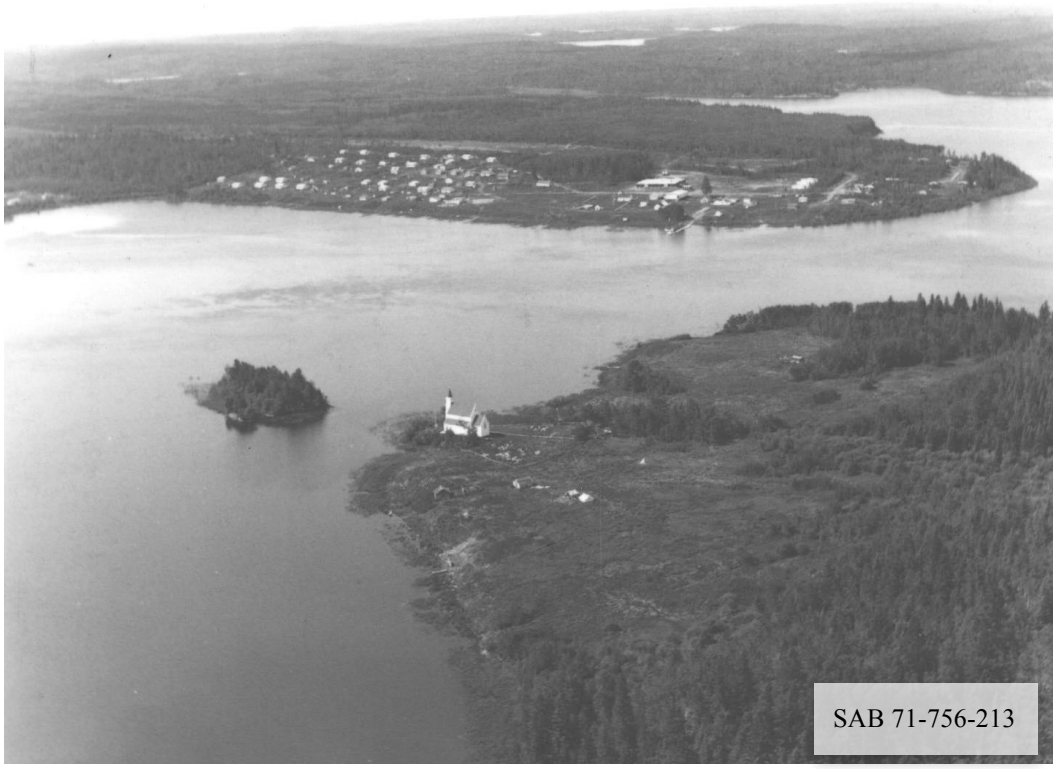

Figure 2.12: View of Stanley Mission in 1971 with only a few houses still remaining on the north side of the river. Most of the community has already been relocated to the south shore (with permission of Saskatchewan Archives Board).

Figure 2.13: Holy Trinity cemetery with community of Stanley Mission in the background, August 2006.

Chapter 3

Previous Archaeological Research at Stanley Mission

3.1 Introduction

The archaeological, architectural, and historical importance of Holy Trinity Anglican Church and surrounding village area has prompted several research initiatives. Since 1981, different organizations have conducted investigations with objectives ranging from architectural restoration to an archaeological field school with local high school students. All of the projects previous to 2006 had been essential to the preservation of the history of Stanley Mission as a gathering place, a mission, and a community. They have instilled in the province a need for continuing research.

3.2 Archaeological Investigations at Stanley Mission

Initial interest in the original location of Stanley Mission began during the 1970s. Holy Trinity Anglican Church, the only surviving building from the mission and the oldest standing building in the province, was in jeopardy of being lost through both the decay of structural and decorative components (Saskatchewan Department of Culture and Youth 1982). In 1981, the province of Saskatchewan purchased the church from the Anglican Diocese of Saskatchewan on the condition that the province rehabilitate the building (Saskatchewan Department of Culture and Youth 1982:1). It was at this time that the church and surrounding graveyard became a Provincial Heritage Property; any further changes made to the building had to comply with the Heritage Property Act.

E. Frank Korvemaker conducted the historic background research for the Saskatchewan Department of Culture and Youth. Korvemaker compiled this information from historical photographs and drawings, personal journals written by missionaries, the 1920 surveyor's map, and other historical references. He then documented this research by creating a Saskatchewan Archaeological Resource Record (SARR) form (Borden Number GiNd-11) and from this the

information was compiled to create a government report entitled, "Holy Trinity Anglican Church, Stanley Mission" (Saskatchewan Department of Culture and Youth 1982). This investigation was also mentioned in the Saskatchewan Archaeological Society Newsletter in a short article by J. F. Murray (1981). Aside from the church restoration, there were also archaeological investigations in the cemetery. One unmarked grave was recorded and other depressions surrounding the building were interpreted as the results of the church construction rather than grave locations (Murray 1981). The report concluded that in order to understand Stanley Mission's cultural resources, future research was imperative.

In 1985, the government decided to build a larger outhouse north of the cemetery at Stanley Mission (Figure 3.1). A mitigative excavation was required, so Tim Jones undertook this project during his time at the Saskatchewan Archaeological Society and recorded the excavation site as the Nepukituk Site (GiNd-11). Jones opened up 9- 40 x 50 cm units producing an excavation area of 1.2 x 1.5 m. Numerous artifacts were recovered including earthenware fragments, clay pipe stems, slate fragments, square nails, buttons, a gun flint, and various glass fragments (Jones 1997:122). His results showed that the excavation area produced artifacts solely from the historic period and that a school may have been located close by, based on the presence of slate tablet fragments (Jones 1997:133). The full report from this project has been published in *Saskatchewan Archaeology*, volume 18 (Jones 1997).

As mentioned previously, in 1981, one unmarked grave was identified close to the church. Several other shallow depressions were thought to be unmarked graves as well, but turned out to be sterile upon investigation. Since the number of unmarked graves was unknown, the Archaeological Services Department of Parks Canada carried out a ground-penetrating radar (GPR) survey of the cemetery from May 31 to June 6, 2005. David Arthurs, Senior Archaeologist at Parks Canada-Western and Northern Service Centre, and Dr. Margaret Hanna, who was then the Curator of the Aboriginal History Unit at the Royal Saskatchewan Museum (RSM), recorded as much information as possible about the status of each grave. Two hundred eighty-four graves were documented as well as headstone information and any Cree Syllabic phrases (not translated) (Santesso 2006). From this information, they produced a detailed map and an accompanying catalogue of all standing stones and markers. Since 2005 the cemetery has continued to be used and as a result of this survey, the unmarked graves have been avoided and remain preserved.

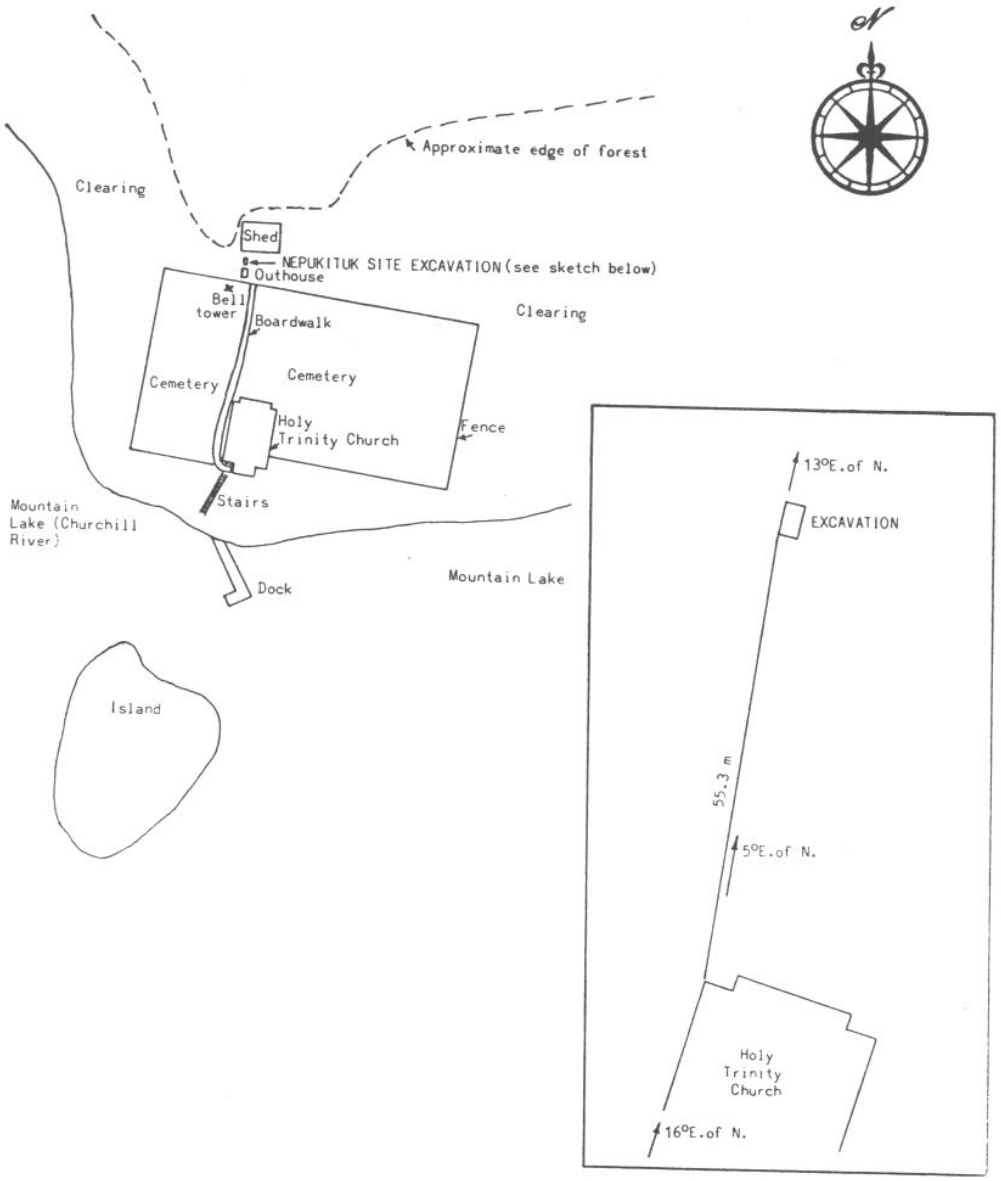

Figure 3.1. Map showing the location of the Nepukituk Site excavation in relation to the church grounds (Jones 1997:113).

3.3 Royal Saskatchewan Museum Archaeological and Oral History Research

The RSM has been involved with research at Stanley Mission since 1999. Dr. Margaret Hanna of the RSM, created a research partnership with the Stanley Mission Band by expressing interest in holding an educational field school for local students. She was helped by Mark Jackson, the Grade Nine teacher and Donna McKenzie, the teacher's assistant, from the Rhoda Hardlotte Memorial Keethanow High School in Stanley Mission. The field school combined oral

history, archival photographs, and archaeological survey. This fit very well with the archaeology/history portion of the Grade Nine school curriculum (Hanna 2000:1). Hanna selected the area behind the church as a starting point for the field school. The original village was located around Holy Trinity Church, and has, since the excavation, been referred to as the "Old Village."

Hanna mapped the Old Village prior to the field school, recording elevation as well as any indications of garden areas and building depressions. The field school introduced the students to archaeological conservation, oral history, archaeological survey, archival resources, and report writing (Hanna 2000: 11). Several activities accompanied these teaching objectives. The students prepared questions and interviewed two Elders of the community, Elizabeth Charles and Peter Roberts. The interview transcript is included in the permit report (Hanna 2000). They explored the links between the archival photographs and the features depicted on the survey map. Hanna taught the students how to systematically collect surface artifacts and create an artifact catalogue. All students were expected to write a report on their field school activities. Hanna observed that there was significant potential for future research at the Old Village. With very little being known about the Old Village itself, she proposed that there needed to be more interviews with local Elders, a more detailed investigation into all archival and historical resources, and an archaeological investigation to help answer questions pertaining to material culture and building depressions (Hanna 2000:18).

Hanna returned to Stanley Mission in the summer of 2000 to continue her research at the Old Village. The previous season's results from interviewing the Elders and collecting artifacts proved that there was a significant amount of history waiting to be recorded. The focus of the 2000 field season included obtaining more oral histories, seeking out additional archival materials, completing the contour map, and assessing sub-surface remains (Hanna 2001a: 1).

Before the field season began, Hanna gathered information from many different kinds of historical resources. Missionaries' and traders' journals provided insight on the development of the village and its various buildings. The Dominion survey map and archival photographs were other sources of information. Hanna explained that this was the "first attempt" at assembling various references to construct a history of the Old Village (Hanna 2001a: 9). Understanding the activities that went on the village created a background to understanding the personal stories and experiences of its inhabitants. Hanna also mentioned that she spent some time at the Hudson's

Bay Company Archives perusing the trading post documents. These did not supply much, if any, information about the mission community, but did offer a businessman's point of view. Hanna highlighted four important areas relating to village history: Holy Trinity Church and cemetery, the CMS parsonage complex, the Revillon Frères Company, and the Cree houses.

The field portion of the 2000 season began with a continuation of the mapping efforts made in 1999. A small creek runs from the forest down towards the church, providing a natural division between the two halves of the village. As the eastern half was mapped in the previous year, Hanna switched directions and plotted much of the land on the western portion of the Old Village. Mapping of the western half was hampered by the encroaching forest. Also, this growth in vegetation made it difficult to connect both east and west survey maps. Overall, the survey was a complete success, with 23 more features being recorded (Hanna 2001a:21-22).

Artifact collection was also part of the field activities. A surface assessment was conducted in the new garden (an area presently being used as a community potato field) and an old garden (an area that was once used as a garden during the occupation of the mission). One 1 x 1 m unit was excavated in the old garden to evaluate the level of disturbance below the surface. Many artifacts were collected and are described in detail in the report (Hanna 2001a: 27-58).

All of this research provided ample background information for the interviews held with several Stanley Mission Elders. As stated in the 1999 report, Dr. Hanna was keen on continuing a series of interviews with several Elders who remembered the Old Village. Band members were consulted as to which Elders would be good candidates for the interviews. Criteria were based on how old they were, whether they had lived in the village or had family members who had lived there, and if they remembered anything from the time when they were growing up. Flora Charles, Peter Roberts, Solomon Ballantyne, Ellen Visentine, and Betsy McKenzie were chosen for their ample knowledge about the Old Village. Donna McKenzie, the Grade Ten teacher's assistant at the local high school, was once again the interpreter for the interviews.

Dr. Hanna and Ms. McKenzie visited each Elder prior to the interview to explain to them who they were and what they were doing. Each then signed the release form. The Elders were interviewed separately and asked specific questions that Hanna had prepared in advance. She was interested in finding out who lived in which houses, how long the houses were standing, what happened to certain buildings, and what they remembered about life in the Old Village (Hanna 2001a: A-1). She also left some flexibility in the interviews for the Elders to make their

own comments on different aspects of the conversation. She brought along with her the archival photographs for the Elders to have a look at during the interview and in turn this helped to identify houses and their occupants. Each interview was recorded with a cassette tape recorder and then transcribed. At the end of each interview, the Elder was photographed. An in-depth analysis of these interviews will be presented in Chapter 5.

The 2000 field season was deemed highly successful, but only prompted more questions about the history of the Stanley Mission Old Village. Hanna travelled back to the Old Village site in 2001 and carried out a five week-long field excavation where she worked with several post-secondary students. She chose a depression on the eastern half of the village to begin excavation. It was initially thought that the depression was from a cabin, but after cross-checking several references it was decided that it might be a garden area. The presence of the remains of wooden stakes supported this interpretation as fences are known to have surrounded each garden.

In mid-July, the crew was visited by Margaret Wynne, the great-great-granddaughter of Rev. Robert Hunt. She travelled to the site from her home in Ireland, as she was in the process of transcribing Rev. Hunt's journals and thought that seeing the site would help her better understand the life of her ancestor. There were also visits to the site by several Elders. They agreed that it was the location where Murdoch McKenzie had once lived. After finding several wall beams and floorboards, the theme of the field season became "Where is Murdoch McKenzie's cabin?" (Hanna 2001b). To help explain the construction of Mr. McKenzie's house, Hanna invited four retired carpenters from the community to the site. They informed Dr. Hanna that her crew was probably digging in the location of Mr. McKenzie's warehouse and that his cabin was close by. This simply added to the puzzle.

By the end of the season, the crew had exposed the southwest corner of a building including the exterior wall beams and floorboards. The final floor plans of the units that depict these findings are presented in Chapter 7.

3.4 Archaeological Research Summary

Initial research at the Stanley Mission Old Village was centred on Holy Trinity Anglican Church. Although this building is a provincial landmark and an important historical site, little was known about the village that supported the mission. After being introduced to the site in 1999, Dr. Hanna believed that additional archaeological research was necessary to preserve this

historical resource. After three years of research, Dr. Hanna had discovered the remains of a cabin and begun her quest to gather oral histories from the local Elders. The vital information the Elders could provide was especially intriguing to Dr. Hanna, as it was a way to determine the day-to-day activities of the village, the owners of each cabin, the interconnectedness of the community, and personal stories. These oral accounts provided valuable insights regarding the community that cannot be found in any archival sources. Despite several seasons of research, Dr. Hanna stressed the importance of further work at the Stanley Mission Old Village Site.

Chapter 4

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This type of study can be described as an archaeological investigation that included archival research and interviews with local Elders. This chapter will discuss the methodologies applied in the excavation and interviews. It will also examine how this phase in research has contributed to the ongoing public archaeology component of the Stanley Mission Old Village project.

4.2 Excavation Methodology

The excavations at the Stanley Mission Old Village site took place during the summers of 2006 and 2007. The 2006 field season began by clearing the site and locating the datum point established in 2001. Margaret Hanna designated the location for the datum point just east of the cemetery fence (Figure 4.1). This point lies at the western edge of a small ridge and the baseline runs parallel to this topographic feature at 41.25°N. This angle from magnetic north became the grid north for the site. When considering where to begin the excavation, Dr. Hanna eventually chose a shallow depression south of the baseline, at 34 m grid north of the datum, as it was thought by the Elders to have been in the general location of an old garden. Since there were members of the crew who did not have any excavation experience, Hanna considered this area to be an ideal starting point for them. After digging a cluster of units, Dr. Hanna and her crew uncovered the corner of a cabin including very well preserved floorboards and wall logs, as discussed in Chapter 3. (See also Chapter 7 for 2001 Plan View).

The 2006 field season continued where the previous excavation ended with the goal to identify the size and completeness of the cabin remains by following the exterior walls. The site was cleared (Fig 4.2) and using a transit and stadia rod more units were plotted extending north

along the baseline. Tent pegs with flagging tape identifying the unit numbers marked the corners.

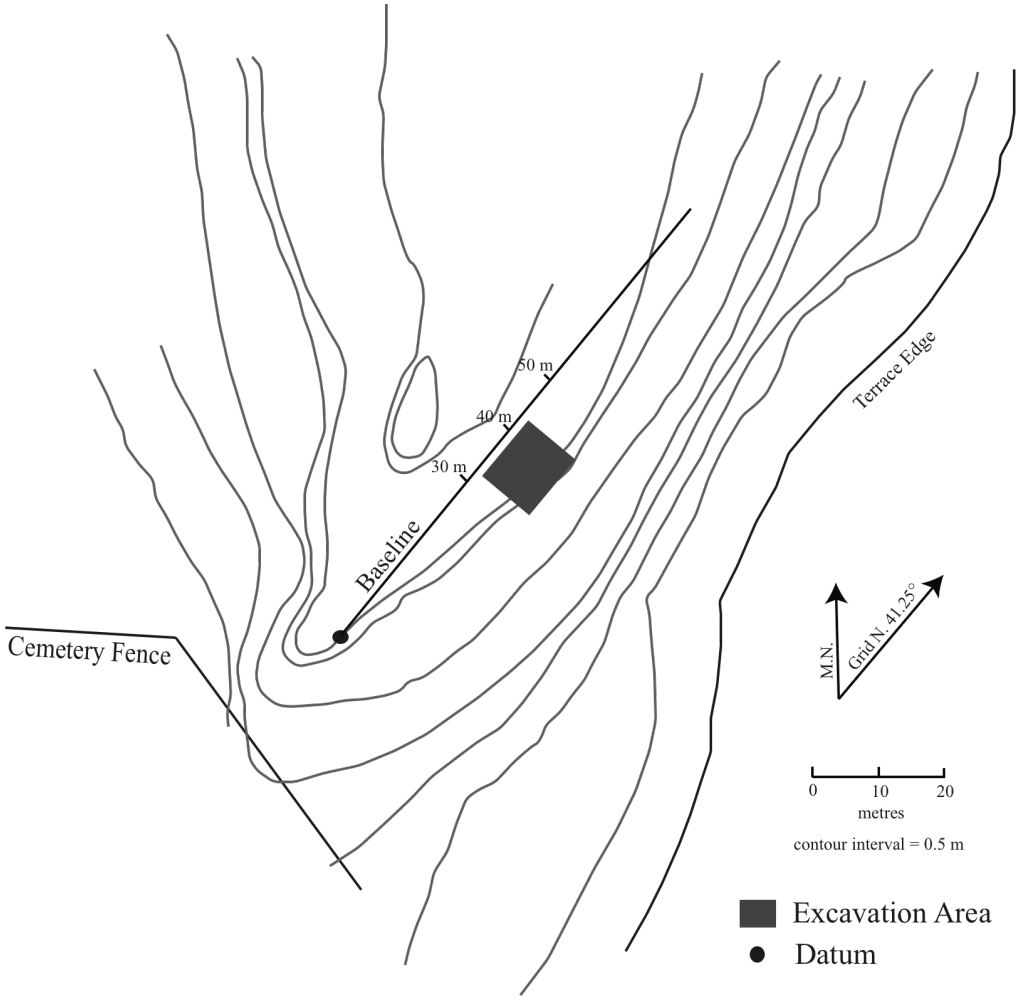

Figure 4.1: Site map showing baseline and excavation area (Hanna 2001a:24; modified by author).

Fieldwork began by excavating units northwards to follow the western wall of the cabin. Once the NW corner was located, several more units were opened along the north wall until the NE corner was uncovered. This pattern was followed until the perimeter of the structure was determined (Figure 4.3). The last few days of excavation concentrated on the chimney feature situated on the interior of the west wall.

The 2007 field season focussed on exploring areas around the fireplace and front door, investigating the extent and preservation of the floorboards, and searching for evidence of a cellar. These objectives helped determine the order of units to be excavated. Discussions with

local Elders indicated that Murdoch McKenzie had an addition to the west side of his house that he used as a small store. He could have entered this lean-to via a door that was located to the south of the chimney. The crew explored this area by excavating a unit on the outside of the cabin wall. Figure 4.3 highlights the units excavated by field seasons.

Figure 4.2: Margaret Hanna clearing the site in 2006.

Dr. Hanna and the author decided to continue to excavate in 1 x 1 m units for the 2006 and 2007 field seasons, following the 2001 excavation style, but omitting the use of baulks. Levels were dug in 5 cm arbitrary increments with the sod level measuring 0-5 cm below surface (B.S.) in 2006 and 0-10 cm B.S. in 2007. In the second season, this level designation changed due to the small amount of artifacts found within the first 5 cm. The artifacts uncovered were assigned quadrant and level provenience and then bagged accordingly. Further methodology concerning the artifacts is discussed in Chapter 6. All units were excavated using trowel and shovel shaving techniques. Two screens were set up on site and all soil was sifted through 1/32" window screen. The last few days of excavation during both field seasons were devoted to drawing wall profiles. Planviews were sketched for every unit and photographs were taken as well (Figure 4.4). All units were then lined with plastic sheeting and backfilled. Plastic was also laid down after the 2001 field season with the intention of making it easier to continue excavating if the unit had to be re-opened. The sod that was removed during excavation was placed back onto the units after they were filled.

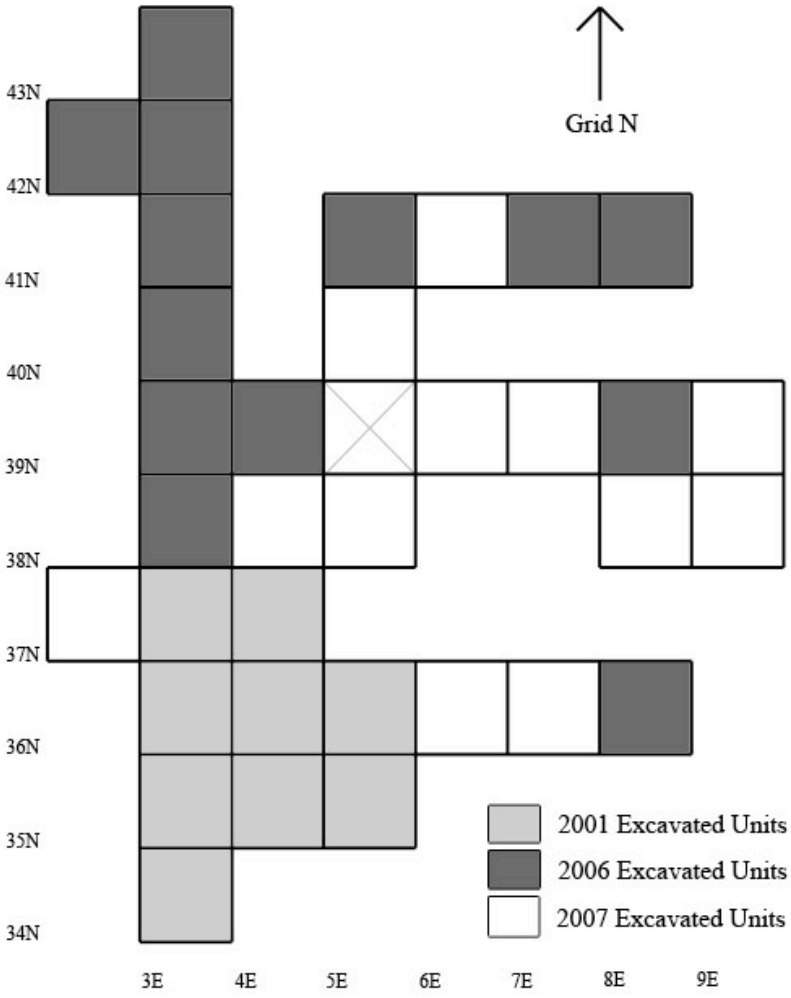

Figure 4.3: Units excavated at the Stanley Mission Old Village Site during the field seasons of 2001, 2006, and 2007. The unit marked with an 'x' was not excavated.

Figure 4.4: Margaret Hanna photographing a unit in 2006.

4.3 Interview Methodology

Karmen VanderZwan, with the help of Margaret Hanna, organized a group interview with Elders in 2006. This interview was not only structurally different, but also thematically different from the previous interviews conducted by Margaret Hanna in 2000. The interviews from 2000 are mentioned in Chapter 3 in regard to their organization and procedures. The interviews and their results themselves are discussed in detail in Chapter 5. The following will explain the methodology behind the interviews conducted in the 2006 field season.

4.3.1 Pre-Interview Preparation

Several actions were taken before hand to guarantee a successful interview process. The first step involved applying for ethics approval at the University of Saskatchewan. The author submitted an application to the Behavioural Research Ethics Board that contained information about the type of study, a proposed time span for the project, the participants, data storage, confidentiality, interview protocol, and informant consent. The Ethics Board approved the oral research project proposed in the application, thus giving permission to use the names of the interviewees and the information obtained in the interviews as part of this thesis and any related presentations. This developmental stage also produced a list of proposed interview questions and a plan to contact the Elders.

The interview questions focussed on specific themes that were linked to the archaeological material being uncovered during the excavation. Several questions concerned the daily activities in and around the cabins, the types of goods bought at the trading posts, and the organization of living spaces. Others concentrated on Murdoch McKenzie, the organization and layout of his house, and the location of his store. For a complete list of interview questions, refer to Appendix B. To contact all of the Elders, Margaret Hanna talked with Elder Elizabeth Charles who drew up a list of people who might be interested in participating in the interview. Elizabeth also arranged the day and afternoon for this meeting. The group interview took place on August 23, 2006 with Elizabeth Charles, Rosie McKenzie, and Helen Visentine as the participating informants. A male Elder was also approached to be part of this project, but was not available at the time. All three of the Elders are from Stanley Mission and had lived at the Old Village or across the river. Their age was taken into consideration because the Elders had to be old enough to remember the Old Village. As mentioned previously, a number of questions were about

Murdoch McKenzie. The Elders chosen had personally known him and could remember details about his cabin. The life experiences of these informants provided valuable insight into life at the Old Village.

4.3.2 Conducting Interview

The interview was conducted in the house where the crew lived for the field season. With everyone seated at the kitchen table, I introduced myself and Margaret Hanna to the Elders. The Elders were then given a brief overview of the project and about what had been uncovered during the 2006 excavation, pointing out the possibility that the crew was digging at Murdoch McKenzie's cabin. I explained what types of questions and discussion would be part of the interview. Each Elder was asked permission to be video recorded and then read and signed the consent form. The consent form outlined the nature of the project, the research risks and benefits, and confidentiality issues. It also stated that the data from the video recorded interview would be used in reports, research presentations, and my thesis. I began the video camera and initiated the interview (Figure 4.5).

Figure 4.5: Interview with Stanley Mission Elders 2006. (left-right) Margaret Hanna, Elizabeth Charles, Helen Visentine, Rosie McKenzie, and Karmen VanderZwan.

The interview was recorded using a digital video camera that was set up on a tripod across the room. The angle was set to include all informants and interviewers in the display. The video camera required a mini digital video cassette and the duration of the interview was slightly less than two hours.

The purpose of this group interview setting was to ask questions that would initiate conversation about the questions. The interview discussion was drawn from a list of questions created for the Ethics Board. A few questions were added to this list post-excavation due to the further exposure of the cabin. The author began asking general questions of each Elder, letting the conversation develop, and any lull in dialogue prompted the interviewers to ask another question. This allowed the Elders to talk freely, discussing the questions with one another. It also gave them the ability to add information that they believed to be important or that they wanted to make clear.

During general conversation about cabin location, archival photographs of the Old Village were consulted to stimulate memories and recollections. Elizabeth Charles sketched the floor plan of Murdoch McKenzie's house to accompany the more specific questions regarding layout and organization. Both Helen Visentine and Rosie McKenzie agreed with her interpretation. This drawing highlighted both structural detail and the orientations of personal belongings within the cabin. To understand how other cabins were built and laid out, the Elders drew floor plans of houses belonging to someone in their family. All of these illustrations are discussed and analyzed in Chapter 5. To ensure that the drawings could be easily consulted in the future, several features were labelled, such as doorways, windows, and beds. The discussion concluded after two hours. Each Elder was thanked for her participation with the project and given an honorarium as a gesture of appreciation.

4.3.3 Post-Interview Tasks

Once the interviews were concluded, the long process of copying and transcribing the footage began. The recorded interview was copied from the mini digital video cassettes onto a computer. It was then burned onto two DVDs to make reviewing the interview easier and more accessible. Being a group interview, it was essential to know exactly who was speaking at each moment while transcribing and this task was simplified because of the video recording. All

formats of the interview, video cassettes, DVDs, and transcript, are securely stored at the RSM in Regina, Saskatchewan.

4.4 Public Archaeology

Public archaeology has been an important aspect of the Stanley Mission Old Village project since it began in 1999. Various activities have taken place over the years, including a field school with local high school students, interviews with Elders, and field survey and excavation with several Stanley Mission residents. Margaret Hanna helped install a display at the Stanley Mission band office that showcases the types of artifacts that have been uncovered during excavation at the Old Village. Everyone in the community and all who visit the band office admires this display. The following section will describe the way in which public archaeology played a role in the 2006 and 2007 field seasons and also through an exhibit at the RSM.

4.4.1 Working with Local Residents and Volunteers

In 2006, a high school student, Kiefer Roberts, assisted the crew in preparing the site and excavation. Kiefer learned how to excavate by trowelling and take measurements of artifacts and levels (Fig 4.6). He had the responsibility of keeping records of any collected artifacts and also maintained level record forms. Kiefer enjoyed working at the excavation and was very helpful during his time at the site.

Elder Elizabeth Charles was able to visit the site one day and spent the afternoon helping to excavate and screen. As well, she was able to assist the crew at the site for a day in 2007 (Figure 4.7). Her involvement in the project has provided encouragement and support, which has aided in the continuation of ongoing research. Elizabeth has been able to make it out to the site every year to excavate and her personal ties to the Old Village fuel her devotion to helping to preserve its history.

Two post-secondary education students from Stanley Mission joined the crew for the 2007 field season. Erica McLeod and Sharon McLeod helped excavate several units throughout the summer (Figure 4.8 and Figure 4.9). Each was paired up with Margaret and Karmen to learn how to trowel, take measurements, and keep records of their findings. They were then assigned to their own unit. Erica and Sharon expressed interest not only in the excavation, but also in the historical research. They brought family photographs of the Old Village to show the rest of the

crew. Also, Beverly Lundahl, a friend of Evelyn Siegfried's, volunteered time to help excavate (Figure 4.10). She worked alongside Evelyn throughout her week at the site. The volunteers and students expressed that they thoroughly enjoyed being part of the crew and learning about excavation. Their help was greatly appreciated and it was a unique experience for all participants.

Figure 4.6: Kiefer Roberts.

Figure 4.7: Elder Elizabeth Charles (photo courtesy of E. Siegfried).

Figure 4.8: Erica McLeod.

Figure 4.9: Sharon McLeod.

Figure 4.10: Beverly Lundahl.

4.4.2 The RSM Discovery Series 2008

Every year the RSM presents recent fieldwork by the museum employees in the Discovery Series. The 2008 installment, entitled "Fieldapalooza," showcased work in the Earth Sciences, Life Sciences, and First Nations Galleries (Appendix C: Figure C1). Figure 4.11 shows the billboard that was located on the lawn of the RMS advertising the event.

The author worked alongside Evelyn Siegfried and other museum staff to create an exhibit featuring the 2007 field season at Stanley Mission. The display incorporated information boards about history, fieldwork, and Elder involvement, and also many artifacts that were uncovered at the site (Figure 4.12). This exhibit was on display in the First Nations Gallery for the month of April. A lecture night that was open to the public was held at the RSM on April 9, 2007 and included presentations about the 2007 field season in all three areas of research at the museum. My presentation explored aspects of fieldwork at the Old Village Site and the archaeological discoveries that had been uncovered. Appendix C includes exhibit posters and photographs of the artifacts on display.

Figure 4.11: Fieldapalooza billboard in front of RSM.

Figure 4.12: Stanley Mission artifact display in the First Nations Gallery at the RSM.

Chapter 5

Oral History and the Stanley Mission Elder Interviews

5.1 Introduction

Oral history is an important research tool for many disciplines and has been growing in popularity, not just in academia, but in government and community projects as well since the early 1970s. The Stanley Mission Old Village site project has incorporated several lines of evidence to create a more complete history of the settlement. The archaeological component provides the interpretation of material culture and structural remains, archival photographs, historic maps, journals of various missionaries and traders, and oral histories from local Elders. The oral histories contribute invaluable information and a First Nations point of view that cannot be found in any of the other resources.

5.2 Oral History

The majority of articles and books devoted to oral history methodologies begin with defining the subject in contrast to oral tradition. Jan Vansina (1985), a pioneer in the method and theory of oral history, draws a clear distinction between the two terms. He explains that oral tradition is seen as "oral messages based on previous oral messages, at least one generation old" and oral history is seen as "reminiscences, hearsay, or eyewitness accounts about events and situations which are contemporary, that is, which occurred during the lifetime of the informants" (Vansina 1985:3,12). Julie Cruikshank has a similar view of oral tradition, but adds that the term could also be used to discuss the process by which information and teachings are transmitted from one generation to another (Cruikshank 1994:404). She notes that oral history also refers to a research method "where a sound recording is made of an interview about firsthand experience occurring during the lifetime of an eyewitness" (Cruikshank 1994:404; see also for similar definitions Barber 1994; Henige 1982; Ritchie 2003).

As can be seen from the above, some researchers are very clear in their definitions of oral tradition and oral history and maintain this rigid distinction throughout their work. However, there are others who are more flexible and even insist that the two are inseparable in meaning. Winona Stevenson explains that among the Plains Cree, "'[h]istory' is not separated from 'tradition' because the spiritual and the mundane overlap in human life. Also, unlike conventional understandings of oral history, in the Cree world, personal reminiscences are not more valued or authoritative than historical accounts of events in the distant past" (Stevenson 1999-2000:13). Like Stevenson, Angela Cavender-Wilson (1998) agrees that the two terms can never be compartmentalized because she believes that oral history is contained within oral tradition and, therefore, is not a separate entity. As a Dakota person, Cavender-Wilson perceives oral tradition as a way in which information is transmitted rather than being classified by the length of time that it has been told (Cavender-Wilson 1998:29). She goes on by saying that "[p]ersonal experiences, pieces of information, events, incidents, etc., can become a part of the oral tradition at the moment it happens or the moment it is told, as long as the person adopting the memory is part of an oral tradition" (Cavender-Wilson 1998:29). A more distanced and detached view of the oral record of some historians is that it is merely one person's claim of events and is therefore simply another primary resource to be stored in the archives to be used in the future by other researchers (Hoffman 1996:91).

It is important for a researcher to comment on his or her understanding of oral tradition and oral history because the definitions of the terms appear to shift in popular usage (Cruikshank 1994). In North America, the practice and use of oral history have changed since its growth in popularity in the 1970s. An overview of this evolution will be presented in the following section.

5.2.1 The Development of Oral History – early 20th century to the 1960s

Throughout history there has been a fascination with gathering first hand accounts of important historical events. Many cultures throughout the world have customs of passing down stories, family histories, and religious teachings from generation to generation. In the United States there have been several large government projects that included an oral history component. The Federal Writers' Project was organized at the beginning of the 20th century and thousands of first-person accounts were collected from ordinary Americans. Couch, in his book *These Are Our Lives*, explains that "the idea is to get life histories which are readable and faithful

representations of living persons, and which, taken together, will give a fair picture of the structure and workings of society (Couch 1939:ix). In 1945, B.A. Botkin worked on a project where he interviewed former slaves, trying to answer questions such as, what does it mean to be a slave and how does it feel to be free? (Botkin 1945:ix). There were also many accounts collected during and after WWII from soldiers and this, in turn, spawned the oral history project at Columbia University.

The use of oral history as a research tool began during the late 1950s and early 1960s with people like Allan Nevins who conceived and set up the Oral History Research office at Columbia University. Nevins and with Louis Starr were co-founders of the Oral History Movement in the United States (see Nevins 1996 and Starr 1996). At this time, the historian was to gather as much information as possible from "significant people about significant events" (Kessler 1975:2). This elitist view of oral history focussed on interviewing leaders rather than those who simply followed (Sheldon and Pappworth 1983; Grele 2007:37). The interviewers would carefully select questions and guide their informants in directions they thought would be useful; the interview was structured to draw out as much historically significant information as possible about people and events. There was also a concern to cover up anything that might embarrass the interviewee (Grele 2007:36). To ensure that this would never happen, the transcripts were treated as any other publication and were edited to purge information that could harm the interviewees' image. The original sound recordings were sometimes destroyed because they were not to be listened to again and the written transcripts could be cited like other written sources (Grele 2007:36).

Oral history archivists focussed on creating publications from these early projects. The information from the interviews was collected to become the foundation of history books that were written by people other than those who conducted the initial interviews (Grele 2007:35). These published 'facts' from the oral histories could then be used to fill in the 'gaps' from other historical documents. The earliest of these publications were kept in archives and libraries, both academic and governmental.

This insistence on transcription was clearly the approach of historians and archivists in the United States, but it has been the audible resource that has been important for Canadian researchers. After WWII, the Canadian Broadcasting Company (CBC) played a major role in the development and practice of oral history in Canada. From across Canada, the CBC collected audio recordings, which were added to the National Archives of Canada and this process

encouraged oral historians to view the audiotape as a primary resource (Lochead 1991). The importance of maintaining oral history in its audible form can still be seen in the mandate of the Canadian Oral History Association (COHA):

> Oral History, therefore, refers to recorded interviews with individuals about the past, or first person reminiscences. The primary form of the oral history document is the recorded human voice. This document, in turn, may be applied as information source material or directly in sound or transcribed form [COHA 2006].

While originally the United States placed precedence on the publishing of transcripts and archiving, Canadian researchers viewed the audible recordings as the valuable source format.

The research at Columbia University was the first oral history project to use a wire recording method, which made the transcription process much faster (Sharpless 2007). This method of recording caught the interests of history groups around the country and prompted other universities to begin similar projects. As technology advanced, so did the method for recording oral histories and this was seen in the use of portable cassette tape recorders. The proliferation of oral history projects in the 1960s was, in part, due to the adoption of audiotapes, but it also coincided with the social history movements. Social historians turned their interest to the multi-ethnic population and emphasized class relationships (Sharpless 2007:14). How did ordinary people feel about national and international events? Grele explains the mission of social historians as "[creating] a history of the everyday lives of those who had heretofore been ignored by historians and there by produced a 'better' history, and to radicalize the practice of history by contesting a 'hegemonic' view of agency and power" (Grele 2007:37-38). It was to be the history of ordinary people that included views of women, children, and ethnic minorities, and a way to give a voice to the voiceless.

This oral history phenomenon reached both academics and the public across the United States, producing oral history organizations in almost every state. Local community histories became popular, as they were a way to "give back" history to the public. Social historians believed that this positive attitude towards preserving history would also give those people efficacy in their lives or empower them (Sharpless 2007:19). Despite some of the criticisms it has received, oral history became very important to local community groups, as they were able to produce valuable town and family histories.

During this time of social change there was a prominent theoretical approach used in oral history projects. The elite/non-elite approach was viewed from opposite ends of a spectrum and is still a highly controversial subject. As outlined above, there were historians who focussed on gathering recollections from people who held powerful positions in government, politics, etc. Others were more concerned with preserving the views of the ordinary, working class people. There are advocates for both schools of this theoretical approach. The people who are practicing this currently believe that there is room and a need for both types of interviewing (Larson 2007:103).

5.2.2 Challenges Faced by Oral History Research – 1970s to the 21st century

The 1970s and 1980s witnessed a change in how oral history was perceived by historians and researchers of other disciplines. There was, and still is, debate concerning the reliability of memory and its weaknesses. Memory can be defined as the capacity to retain information about experiences and events, and then to be able to recall it (Hoffman and Hoffman 2008:33). Some oral historians have argued that "the so-called unreliability of memory was also its strength," (Perks and Thomson 2006:3); others, however, have been concerned about memory functions, their effects upon the interview process, and the goals of research projects (Hoffman and Hoffman 2008:49). There are a number of reasons for people not to be able to accurately describe something or remember a specific event. This could be due to the long duration between the occurrence and the interview recollection or the age of the person presently compared to the age of the person at the time of the event. The subjective nature of memories provides not only valid information about the first-hand experiences but also clues about "the relationships between past and present, between memory and personal identity, and between individual and collective memory" (Perks and Thomson 2006:3; see also Mason 2000). To be able to understand these relationships, oral historians look to other disciplines, such as psychology and linguistics, and a variety of approaches, including narrative, cultural, and ethnographic to analyze oral history interviews.

This interdisciplinary approach to oral history carried on into the 1980s with considerable contributions to theoretical issues, methodology, and memory. Memory was seen as a respected historical source and, as such, was used by many different academic disciplines, not solely historians (Yow 1997). There was a shift to borrowing from disciplines such as cultural

anthropology, linguistics, literary studies, philosophy, folklore, and cultural studies. There was also a concern for language and story. This change in theoretical perception subsequently resulted in changes in fieldwork methodology and interview techniques (Grele 2007:56). Early work in oral history interviews was regarded as 'scientific' with the interviewer maintaining a distanced relationship with the informant. During the 1980s there was a more interactive exchange between the interviewer and interviewee. Grele (2007) explains that in this shift "the role of the conception of narrative was fundamental" (Grele 2007:56). The use of narratives will be discussed further in the following section.

The 1980s also witnessed the connection of oral history and feminist history. Projects and interviews with women from across the world have proved to be a significant resource for "uncovering and exploring experiences" which have been omitted from many historical documents and for "challenging historical interpretations based upon the lives and documents of men" (Perks and Thomson 2006:6). There have been many contributions of feminist oral historians to methodological and theoretical developments within oral history (see Anderson et al. 1990; Gluck and Patai 1991). This focus on feminist studies was also seen in Canada with Barbara Riley's 1985 article, "Domestic Work: Oral History and Material Culture," that concerns women's domestic activities and the impact that technology had on the women's role in the home. The *Canadian Oral History Association Journal* (1991) devoted an entire issue to "Women and Oral History." Oral history projects are becoming ever more important around the world where oppressed women have been silenced and neglected in history (Armitage and Gluck 2002).

The most recent paradigm shift in oral history concerns the technological component to interviewing. Presently, the world is in the midst of a technological change and this is affecting the methods and processes used in oral history. Not only does the Internet and email promote international dialogue between research groups, but also serves as a way for interviews to be conducted via satellite. The advances in technology are also changing the way we record, preserve, catalogue, interpret, share, and present oral histories. Digital catalogues are currently being made available online, which in turn allows people from all over the world to access these historical sources. Michael Frisch (2006) acknowledges that the digitization of oral histories will change the previous methodology of transcription and allow a wider audience to experience the original audible recordings. People will not have to rely on having access to a text copy of the

interview, but will be able to hear and see the interview first-hand to make their own interpretations.

5.2.3 Narratives and a Holistic History

A current debate within oral history studies, and an issue closely connected to the Stanley Mission Old Village site archaeological project, concerns the treatment and use of First Nations narratives in history. Neal McLeod (1999-2000) discusses at length Cree narrative memory and how it is more than a method used to archive information and sounds. Cree narrative memory "is an ongoing attempt to find solutions to problems that we face today such as the breakdown of families, loss of language, and a general loss of respect for ourselves and others" (McLeod 1999-2000:38). Narratives are told through storytelling that links the past to the present and the present to the past. McLeod continues by explaining that "lived" narratives, or life histories, give insight into both culture and individual people, and are essential components of oral history. McLeod believes that "the stories of Cree individuals are the source of Cree history" (McLeod 1999-2000:40).

There has been increasing awareness about the demand by First Nations peoples that oral traditions be taken seriously as legitimate sources of history. First Nations peoples feel that "the issue… centres on who controls the images and the representations of their lives portrayed to the larger world" (Cruikshank 1994:403). While there is progress being made in Canada to re-evaluate the way history is portrayed it is clear that there is very little literature that includes First Nations perspectives on their own history. Cruikshank (1994) takes this problem head on by acknowledging that there is a need to "respect both the legitimate claims to First Nations to tell their own stories and the moral and scholarly obligation to write culturally grounded histories" (Cruikshank 1994:403).

There are others who feel sceptical about ever achieving a 'blended' history. Morantz (2001) questions the ability to "turn oral tradition into historical text, as we know it, and at the same time capture the Native perception of events and their significance" (Morantz 2001:52). Oral historians have to be aware that using a traditional interview format to gather oral accounts can allow for the biases of the interviewer to filter into the history even if the approach is to introduce a topic and then let the interview proceed with minimal interruptions. They have to keep in mind how the narratives were collected, whether the stories were ones the Elders wanted

to tell or were the responses to structured questions from the researcher. Morantz (2001) finds it impossible to write a comprehensive history and states that "to write a history that tries to find a correspondence between the full body of oral tradition and the archival records would only destroy what is left of the Cree notions of their past" (Morantz 2001:65).

These two opposing views both have legitimacy. It is the obligation of each researcher and/or interviewer to present history in a holistic manner, taking into consideration multiple viewpoints, the cultural backgrounds of those directly involved in the historical events, and not to discredit information gathered from oral histories because it does not fit or correspond with the previously known historical account.

5.3 Combining Archaeology and Oral History

Oral history can be especially useful for archaeological projects of recent historic times where people with first-hand knowledge or experience are still alive. The information gathered from oral histories can work well with archaeological and other historical data creating a more holistic history by bringing together different views and perspectives. The practice of combining historical archaeology, historical documents, and oral history is referred to as documentary archaeology. Wilkie (2006) describes it as "an approach to history that brings together diverse source materials related to cultures and societies that peopled the recent past" (Wilkie 2006:13). By incorporating these different types of sources there may be overlapping and complementary information, but there could be conflicting information as well.

There are many ways that oral history can be incorporated into archaeological projects. Oral history can provide archaeologists with valuable information about the physical structure of buildings or other facilities (Utley 1993; Brown 1973; Barile 2001). It can also be instrumental in comprehending the relationships between certain people or between other groups (Wilkie 2000). Some researchers value oral history because it is used to understand the ideology of a group under study, a class of information particularly difficult to reconstruct archaeologically (Barber 1994; Adams 1980). Oral history interviews offer an opportunity to learn about activities practiced by a person or group of people (Stewart et al 2000). Oral history has even been used to 're-write' history where Native American perspectives had been previously ignored (McDonald et al. 1991). There has also been interest in linking oral testimonies with landscape studies in archaeology to locate sites, learn place names, and to understand how people moved across the

landscape (Meyer and Russell 2007; Perry 1991; Schuyler 1976; Riley and Harvey 2005). There have been attempts through cultural resource management projects to integrate oral history in the form of traditional knowledge with archaeological survey and excavations (Kritsch et al. 1994; Hart 1994).

Oral histories give historical archaeologists access to information that would otherwise be lost or go unrecorded. Wylie (1989) suggests that archaeologists, by moving back and forth or 'tacking' between multiple lines of evidence, such as documents, oral histories, and archaeological data, are creating strengthened interpretations. By incorporating all of the different sources of information, one can construct more "holistic histories" (Wylie 1989).

5.4 The Stanley Mission Interviews

The Stanley Mission Old Village archaeological project began in 1999 and from the outset oral history collection was deemed an important objective in the historical research. The oral history accounts of the local Elders, a viable historical resource, have been incorporated into the project as a First Nations perspective of the local history, and through this, we have gained invaluable insights into life at the Stanley Mission Old Village not currently found in published historical accounts.

The methodology for the various interview sessions with the Stanley Mission Elders has been discussed in the previous chapters and the remainder of this chapter will cover the reasons behind these methodological decisions, the types of interviews conducted, and the content of the interviews. Lists of the main interview questions can be found in Appendix B for both the 2000 and 2006 interviews. Although there was an abundance of information obtained from all of the Elders' interviews, I will be presenting the material and accounts pertaining to the cabin descriptions, discussions about activities inside and outside the cabins, activities that occurred in the village, objects and items that may be present at the cabins, and specifically the organization of Murdoch McKenzie's cabin. Other areas of discussion not directly associated with the content of this thesis focussed on life at the traplines, making birch bark canoes, schooling, descriptions of the parsonage, family names, and the names of lakes. Anyone interested in learning more about these should consult the transcripts and/or recordings of the interviews, which are kept at the RSM.

5.4.1 Interviewing Styles

Oral histories begin with the collection of data via interviews. There are many methods of interviewing and just as many opinions on the matter. To begin with, interviews may be conducted in a highly structured manner with a standardized list of questions created specifically to draw out answers that require more than a yes/no answer. Margaret Hanna employed this interviewing style in her interviews conducted in 2000 (Hanna 2001a). Hanna was interested in obtaining certain kinds of information regarding the life of each of the interviewees, including growing up as children at the mission, travelling back and forth to the traplines, when and how cabins were built, who occupied each cabin, where people bought their goods, the mission school and parsonage, and personal questions about place names. This interviewing style allowed for a wide variety of information to be gathered in a relatively short period of time. To wrap-up the interview session, however, Hanna did ask the Elders if they had any specific memories that they wanted to share, thus giving the Elders an opportunity to talk about anything they thought should be included in the oral history recording.

This highly structured method of interviewing fit well with the individual interviews, but a different, more relaxed, method was used for the group session in 2006. A short list of questions was formulated for the group interview with the intent of initiating conversations between the informants. The Elders were addressed in general questions concerning what they remembered about the cabins in the Old Village, what their family's cabin looked like, what types of daily activities occurred both inside and outside of the cabin, how the interior of the cabin was organized, who Murdoch McKenzie was, and the layout of his cabin. Some oral historians believe that this method will result in a more genuine reflection of the informant's experience even if it does not necessarily satisfy the intent of the question according to the interviewer.

In both the 2000 and 2006 interview sessions, not all of the questions were asked of each informant. This depended on how long the interview was running and the direction it was heading. For example, if an informant was knowledgeable or interested in a particular subject, then more time was devoted to certain subject areas than others. Also, sometimes the informant's responses provided answers to more than one question or provided information that indicated that some questions were not applicable to their specific life experiences. These two distinct styles of interviewing are also connected to the differences in the types of interviews conducted.

5.4.2 Types of Interviews

There are five basic types of interviews used in oral history projects for data collection: life story interviews, family tree interviews, diary interviews, single-issue testimony, and group interviews. When deciding what method(s) to use, it is important to take into consideration the objectives of the project, the type of information being sought, and the age and cultural background of the informants. The Stanley Mission Elder interviews were conducted in the form of life story and group sessions.

Life story or life history interviews are usually private, one-on-one encounters with the interviewer and the interviewee present. Margaret Hanna's interviews with the Elders in 2000 were of this one-on-one nature and she talked with five individuals: Helen Visentine, Betsy McKenzie, Flora Charles, Peter Roberts, and Solomon Ballantyne. These types of interviews can range from a short, single session of one hour to a longer, multi-session interview of two or more and they were scheduled to accommodate the interviewee. Hanna conducted the interviews in the informants' homes except for one, which was held in the community hall. These single session interviews were useful for several reasons. First, Hanna was able to ask personal questions regarding the informant's life, family, and trapline; her attention was devoted solely to the interviewee and his or her responses. Secondly, she was able to gain multiple perspectives on life in the Old Village without the influence of other people's memories. The Elders recalled memories from their past that were most important to them and that they wanted to be recorded as part of the oral history of Stanley Mission. Finally, Hanna was able to obtain a large quantity of information in a relatively short period of time with the interview sessions running approximately one hour in length. Hanna was assisted by a Cree interpreter, which allowed for even more information provided by the Elders to be understood and documented. Hanna noted in her report (2001a) that in the future, a group interview with some of the Elders might be beneficial for reminiscing about life in the Old Village.

Group interviews can be used to discuss one topic that all of the informants have in common or it can be used to gather different views and experiences about a variety of issues. This is the style of interview that was conducted in the 2006 field season and it included the input of three local Stanley Mission Elders: Elizabeth Charles, Helen Visentine, and Rosie McKenzie. Interviewing a number of people at one time can "gain the collective wisdom" of the group in a

more efficient manner than spending the time to interview each person separately (Henige 1982:49).

With any type of interviewing, there are pros and cons that oral historians should consider during the planning stages of their research. The drawbacks to using group interviews that some researchers might want to avoid include the following points. The interview itself has the potential to run longer than a single-person interview because everyone needs to have a chance to respond to the questions. In some cases, the interviewer may act more like a moderator, making certain that no one monopolizes the session (Ritchie 2003:62). A group interview setting can be a good method to use because it takes the pressure off the individual. Conversely, some people who may be intimidated or shy to talk in front of a group of people are less likely to be heard at all, and in turn, this could limit the variety of experiences and opinions shared during the session (Slim et al. 2006:147).

There are several positive outcomes to using the group interview method. Members of the groups can 'spark' off one another. That is, as a person is describing their memories of an event or place, another person in the group might be reminded of something they had forgotten. Elizabeth Charles remembered something suddenly about a previous conversation topic and interjected by saying, "That just woke me up" (Stanley Mission Elder Group Interview (SMEGI) 2006). There is a better chance of memories being triggered when the informants can converse with each other about their recollections. A group interview setting is also beneficial for the interviewer who initiates the conversation by presenting the general topic and then asks some questions throughout the discussion. This allows the interviewer to observe the interaction between the participants (Kumar 1987:4). In many societies around the world, group interviews may be a more familiar setting in keeping with traditional ways of communication (Slim et al. 2006:147). The adoption of this technique would create a more welcoming atmosphere and help the interviewees feel comfortable and at ease in a situation that might not have been otherwise.

In the case of the 2006 interview session, the benefits of conducting a group interview outweighed the negative aspects and, thus, one meeting was organized near the end of the field season. The interview began with each Elder telling about when and where they lived in the Old Village or what they remembered as children growing up in the mission community. The conversation then moved onto a discussion about what their family's cabins looked like. While describing these houses the Elders would remember stories about their grandparents, aunts, and

uncles. The interview also covered topics that included the location of the fires outside of their cabins, the kinds of things they would cook, the location of people's cabins, the types of food bought at the trading posts, and the location and floor plan of Murdoch McKenzie's house. The entire interview flowed smoothly like a conversation between friends and family, allowing the Elders to explain as much or as little about a variety of topics. This type of interviewing was specifically chosen to create a comfortable atmosphere where the Elders could converse with one another, triggering memories, and telling stories.

5.4.3 Recording Methods

Traditionally, oral history interviews were recorded on a portable cassette tape recorder. This recording method was used in the 2000 interviews. As technology continues to advance there are more and more opportunities to use video as a means of recording oral testimonies. Videotapes, or video home system (VHS) cassettes, have been used for many years, but have now been replaced with digital video recorders. Digital video recordings are more versatile in that they can easily be switched from one format to another, i.e. from a digital file on a computer to a digital video disc (DVD).

There are, however, those in favour and those opposed to using video recorders during interviews. Videos are practical for group interviews where multiple people are speaking, making transcripts difficult if the voices sound similar and there is not a visual reference. The 2006 group interview was recorded using a digital video recorder and is preserved on digital videocassette and on a DVD. The visual recording provides an additional element to oral history interviews. Ritchie (2003) believes that "transcripts reduce language to written symbols. Audio recordings convey tone, rhythm, volume, and speech patterns, but facial expressions and body language captured by video reveal even more of an interviewee's personality" (Ritchie 2003:134; see also Sipe 1991). A video reference also allows the viewers to garner a better sense of the atmosphere where the interview was held, which may even be a specific place or location that the narrator describes. There is also an advantage if the informant is a craftsperson, as it will allow his or her work to be visually recorded as well. On the negative side, the equipment can be expensive and difficult to acquire. Depending on how elaborate the equipment set-up is with a camera, lights, and sound, it can be intrusive. Other researchers are concerned with the archival quality, but this becomes an issue for any type of recorded material. The decision is up to the

oral historian as to what method is used to record the interview, and this will all depend on the informants, as well as the location, budget, and availability of equipment.

5.4.4 Using Visual Aids

Visual aids have the same potential to trigger memories as the individual members within a group interview setting. Sometimes they are able to elicit certain feelings about the topic under discussion in a way that words can not achieve (Collier 1967; Modell and Brodsky 1994). Visual aids can include photographs of locations and people, current and historic maps, drawings, and objects. The introduction of a visual aid to an interview brings a new level of interaction; there are interactions not only between the interviewer and interviewees, and the informants and themselves, but also between the participants and the visual element. Modell and Brodsky describe how photographs become "another voice in the encounter, to which individuals [respond] actively, creatively, and confidently" (Modell and Brodsky 1994:159). Archival photographs were used in the 2006 group interview as a reference when talking about where people lived, but they also assisted in telling stories by stimulating memories. Some of these memories dated to when the Elders were children. Photographs serve as a window into the past, especially when the period under discussion is from years ago.

Another method used to stimulate memories is to have the informants draw maps replicating past environments, travel routes, living areas, and hunting grounds. The Elders created drawings of some of their relatives' cabins that indicated where furniture was located, where they stored their belongings, and where the door and windows were positioned. Elizabeth Charles also drew the floor plan of Murdoch McKenzie's cabin at the Old Village and then discussed it with the other Elders during the group interview. All of these drawings will be discussed in section 5.5.2. These visual aid products are useful for the both interpretation and to include in reports.

5.5 Results of the Interviews

This section will examine the information obtained from the Elders during the various interview sessions. It is divided into two sub-sections with the first discussing life at the Old Village during the summer months when families relocated to the mission from their traplines and the second looking at how cabins were built and organized.

5.5.1 Daily Life and Activities at the Stanley Mission Old Village

In the early and mid 20th century the Stanley Mission Old Village came alive in late spring when families returned from the winter spent at their traplines. The cold months away at the traplines were a time for hunting and trapping, but the trip back to the mission was the beginning of a season full of fishing, gardening, going to church, having dances, and enjoying the nice weather. Visiting family and friends would take up the majority of the summer months. Helen Visentine remembered that they not only visited people in Stanley Mission, but they travelled to places like Pelican Narrows to see people (Hanna 2001a: *KAYĀS*). Betsy McKenzie recalled that sometimes families would make trips back and forth between their trapline areas and the mission during the summer if they were in close proximity to one another (Hanna 2001a: *KAYĀS*). At the mission settlement, many families had a log cabin to live in, but Flora Charles remembered that quite a few people also used tents for the summer (Hanna 2001a: *KAYĀS*).

Flora Charles recalled that each day would begin and end with a church service held at 7:00 am and 7:00 pm, respectively (Hanna 2001a: *KAYĀS*). The time in between was spent on a variety of activities and daily tasks, including chopping wood and setting fishing nets. Helen Visentine can remember her mother snaring rabbits and using her own handmade fishnet to catch fish in order to make a bit of money for their family (SMEGI 2006). She also talked about how her grandfather would get up in the morning before anyone else to go fishing and would then come back in time for breakfast with his catch.

When asked about what types of activities occurred outside of the cabins, the interviewees described a whole list of tasks. Every cabin had at least one hearth outside near the front door and here people would boil fish, meat, and potatoes (SMEGI 2006). Elizabeth Charles explained that she would make baked bannock or fried bannock every day on the outside fire (SMEGI 2006). This would also be the area for a family to have a smoking rack where they could hang meat and fish.

Solomon Ballantyne talked about families often having their own garden to tend, each enclosed by a fence to keep out animals and young children (Hanna 2001a: *KAYĀS*). They would plant potatoes, onions, and carrots – basically an assortment of root vegetables, which would store well over the fall and winter months. The cabins usually had a small cellar beneath the floorboards that was lined with grass and here the vegetables were kept until the spring. The potatoes would be used as seed for the following year's crop.

Children had different activities that would occupy their days during the summer. When not at school, Elizabeth Charles could recall playing with the other children all day long (SMEGI 2006) and Betsy McKenzie remembered young girls skipping rope (Hanna 2001a: *KAYĀS*). The children in the Old Village would also spend time with the older people and the Elders of the community, sometimes praying and at other times learning how to make birch bark containers (Rosie McKenzie, SMEGI 2006; Hanna 2001a: *KAYĀS*).

The evening church service was usually followed by a soccer game for the men and boys. This usually concluded around 10:00 pm, signalling the end of the day and people would retire for bed. However, there were often dances later in the evenings, usually in the schoolhouse or in the Revillon Frères warehouse to accommodate a number of people. Peter Roberts recalled that he would sometimes play the fiddle to accompany the square dancing (Hanna 2001a: *KAYĀS*). These dances provided context for socializing and would continue into the early hours of the morning.

Goods bought from the trading posts were purchased either on Treaty Day or in August before families travelled back to their traplines. Several Elders recalled their families buying items such as sugar, flour, bacon, tea, coffee, tobacco, and canned food (Hanna 2001a: *KAYĀS*). Some of the other Elders remembered picking up lard, rolled oats, rice, and salt pork, which was a favourite (SMEGI 2006). Mrs. Visentine mentioned that men would acquire canvas for making tents, as well as shotgun shells, powder, and other equipment for trapping (Hanna 2001a: *KAYĀS*). Elizabeth Charles could remember getting stockings and flannelette for making clothing (SMEGI 2006). All of the items purchased at the end of summer would be used throughout the winter at the traplines and could be replenished by making short trips back to the post or by trippers visiting the traplines themselves.

5.5.2 Cabin Layouts and Murdoch McKenzie's House

During the group interview there was a discussion about what the cabins at the Old Village looked like, not just on the exterior, as these details can be seen in archival photographs, but what the interior looked like in terms of the organization of the furniture and space. Helen Visentine sketched her grandfather's cabin displaying both the inside and outside of the building (Figure 5.1). The one-room log building, measuring 3.7 m - 4.3 m (12'-14'), had a door and a window along the front wall (SMEGI 2006). The inside contained two beds, one on either side

wall, a table positioned underneath a window, and a cast iron stove used for cooking and heating. Helen also explained that, aside from the beds, there were very few pieces of furniture and all of the other belongings were hung on the walls (Hanna 2001a: *KAYĀS*). In front of the cabin was her grandfather's smoker where he would prepare fish and other meat (SMEGI 2006). The internal organization of the living space was similar to that of Elizabeth Charles' uncle's cabin with all of the furniture along the walls leaving the centre of the room clear, except for a stove.

Nehemiah Charles, the uncle of Elizabeth Charles and once a chief in the community, shared his cabin with his brother Robert Charles. The cabin was actually located on the south side of the Churchill River, opposite the Old Village (see Figure 5.2), and Elizabeth explained that this was where the Charles family had their cabins (SMEGI 2006). At the front of the house where the door was located was a window overlooking a porch with a woodpile off to the right side. There was another window along the side wall facing the river and a window in the back wall, as well.

The furniture in the one-room building consisted of a table underneath the side window and two beds, each positioned in the far corners. Rosie McKenzie noted that she used to place spruce branches in her bed mattress to keep it soft and make it smell nice too (SMEGI 2006). In the centre of the cabin was a stove serving as a source of heat and a cooking area. Clothes and other personal belongings were hung on pegs on the back wall. Elizabeth Charles explained that she used to store each of her children's clothes in a separate bag because there were no such things as dressers or fancy boxes (SMEGI 2006). She went on to talk about hanging socks and moccasins by the stove. Items such as "frying pans and… whatever they had" could be hung on the exterior of the building for easy access to the cooking fire and smoker outside of the cabins (Elizabeth Charles, SMEGI 2006). Equipment for hunting and trapping, when not in use, could be stored under the beds, and at the trapline it would be hung up on nails on the exterior of the cabin without the fear of anything being stolen (Rosie McKenzie, SMEGI 2006).

Some cabin construction techniques were also discussed during the various interview sessions. Flora Charles recalled that the cabins had wooden floors (Hanna 2001a: *KAYĀS*). Elizabeth Charles explained that the cabins were made with squared logs and that the ends of the logs did not stick out past the walls, but had dove-tailed corners (SMEGI 2006). The wall logs were chinked with a mixture of moss, grass, and clay, and this would have been pushed in between the logs to eliminate any spaces where heat could escape (Helen Visentine, SMEGI

2006). Elizabeth Charles and Rosie McKenzie remembered that their families had done this as well. Rosie also talked about how the roofs of all the cabins had "moss and sand up top" and Elizabeth added that she remembered her father also using woodchips from the woodpile for extra insulation in the roof (SMEGI 2006). Betsy McKenzie remembered that the cabins in the Old Village had big stone chimneys, chinked with a mixture of clay and grass, and that they usually stood on the back wall opposite the doorway (Hanna 2001a: *KAYĀS*).

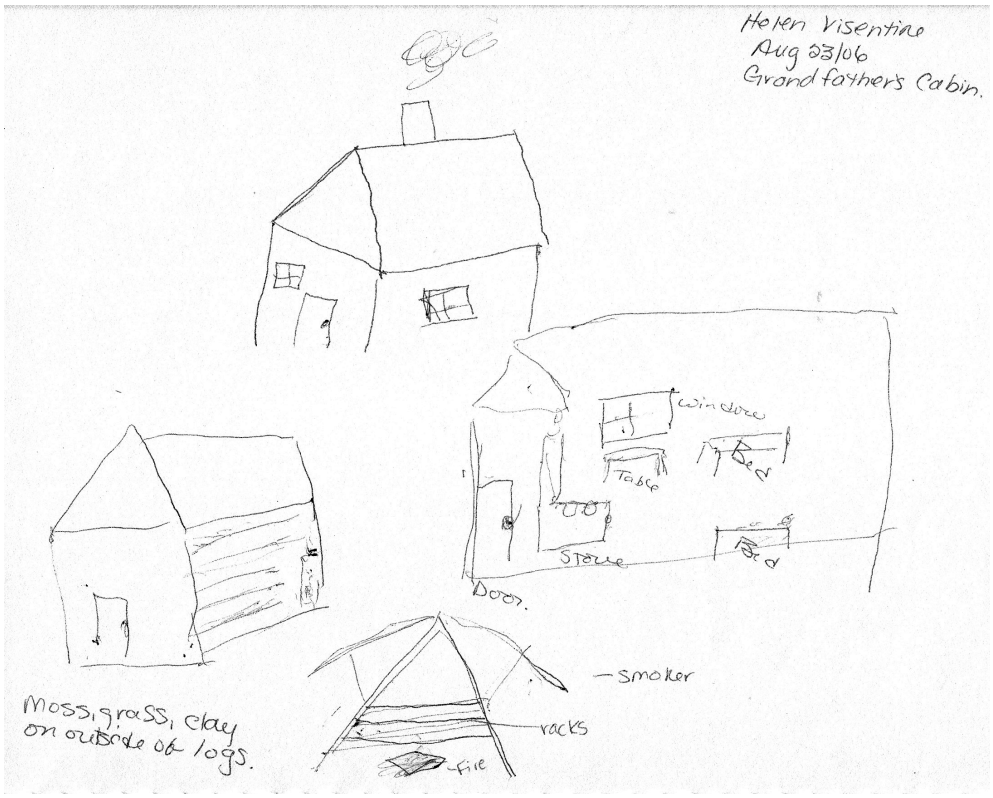

Figure 5.1: Drawing of Helen Visentine's grandfather's cabin (drawn by Helen Visentine SMEGI 2006).

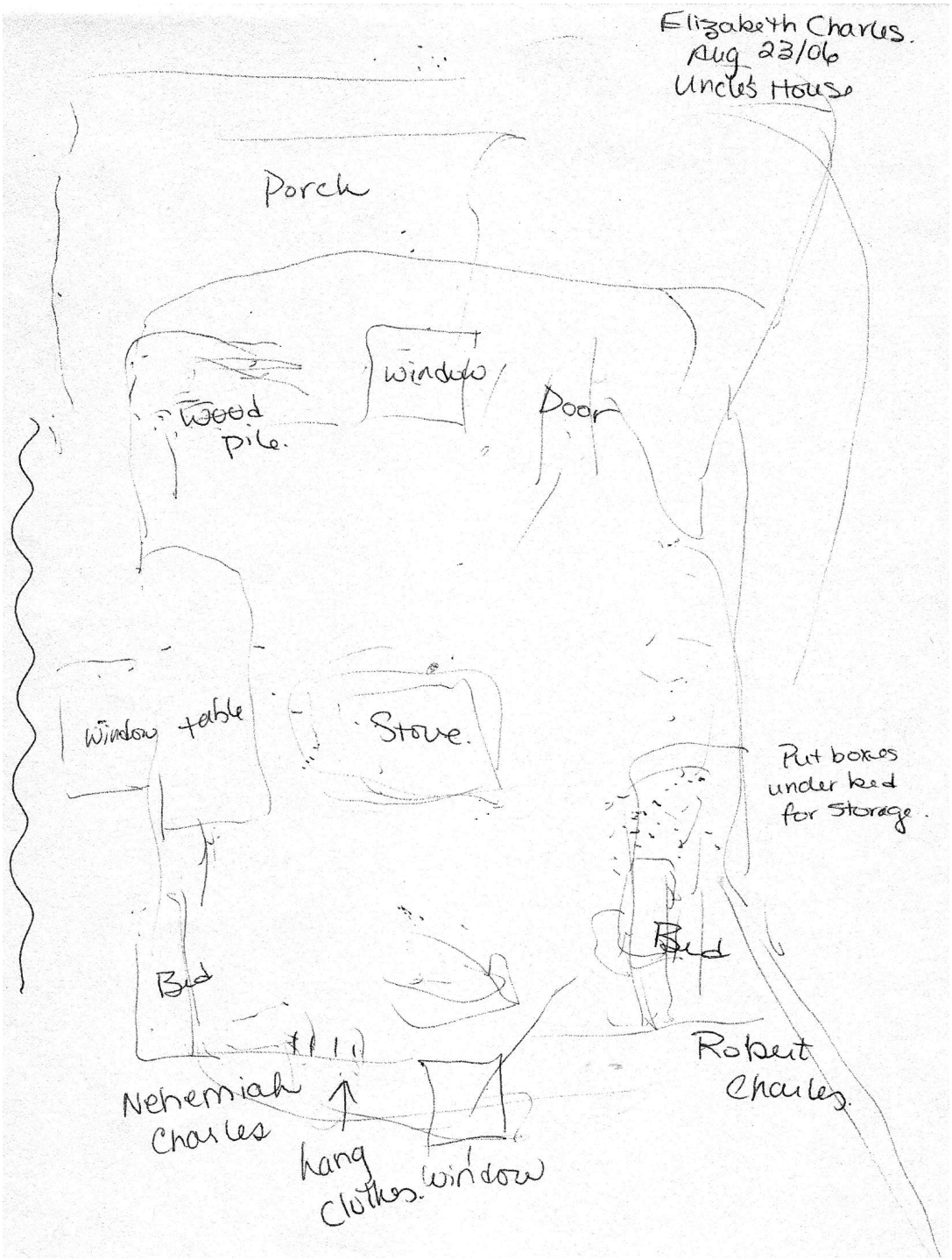

Figure 5.2: A sketch of Elizabeth Charles' uncle Nehemiah Charles' cabin (drawn by Elizabeth Charles SMEGI 2006).

As the 2006 field season progressed, the excavation continued to uncover the perimeter of the cabin remains. Several Stanley Mission Elders visited the site in 2001 and indicated that the

crew had located the remnants of Murdoch McKenzie's cabin (Hanna 2001b). Elizabeth Charles agreed that it was indeed the site of Mr. McKenzie's home by exclaiming, "I think you're digging in the right place because as far as I can remember too, and Helen [Visentine] too, that's where this old man's [Murdoch McKenzie] house used to be" (SMEGI 2006). Murdoch lived until 1952 after having been married twice and raising two or three children (SMEGI 2006). Mrs. Visentine remembered that his first wife was named Flora and his second wife was Helen (SMEGI 2006). In 2001, the Elders mentioned that Murdoch ran a small store that was attached to his house where he sold a limited amount of goods. Since he could not read or write, he had kept track of people's accounts by using various sizes of sticks representing different amounts of money (Hanna 2001a: *KAYĀS*).

Elizabeth Charles visited the site in 2006 and was able to tell us a bit about Murdoch McKenzie's house and how it was organized. Elizabeth drew the floor plan of McKenzie's house and indicated that, unlike most of the cabins in the Old Village, his doorway faced the church and a large window looking out over the river (see Figure 5.3). All three of the Elders that participated in the group interview agreed that his doorway faced the church (SMEGI 2006). There were three tables positioned along the interior walls and his bed was located in the northwest corner (according to grid north) of the building. Murdoch's personal belongings were stored against the eastern wall and he also had a bit of storage in a cellar beneath the floor of his cabin, which was accessible by a trap door. His home was heated by both a cast-iron stove situated in the centre of the room and a chimney that was built on the interior of the west wall. Elizabeth drew a small rectangle beside the chimney representing the doorway to a lean-to, which housed his small store. Elizabeth also mentioned that McKenzie's cabin was built using squared logs similar to the Cree cabins in archival photographs dating to the 1920s (SMEGI 2006). While looking at one of these photographs featuring a cabin made of squared logs with dove-tailed joints, Elizabeth pointed out that McKenzie's cabin was built "like this because there were logs, there was no cement at the time… exactly like this that is standing" (SMEGI 2006). The Elders' description of their families' cabins and that of McKenzie represent what the typical cabin looked like at the Stanley Mission Old Village.

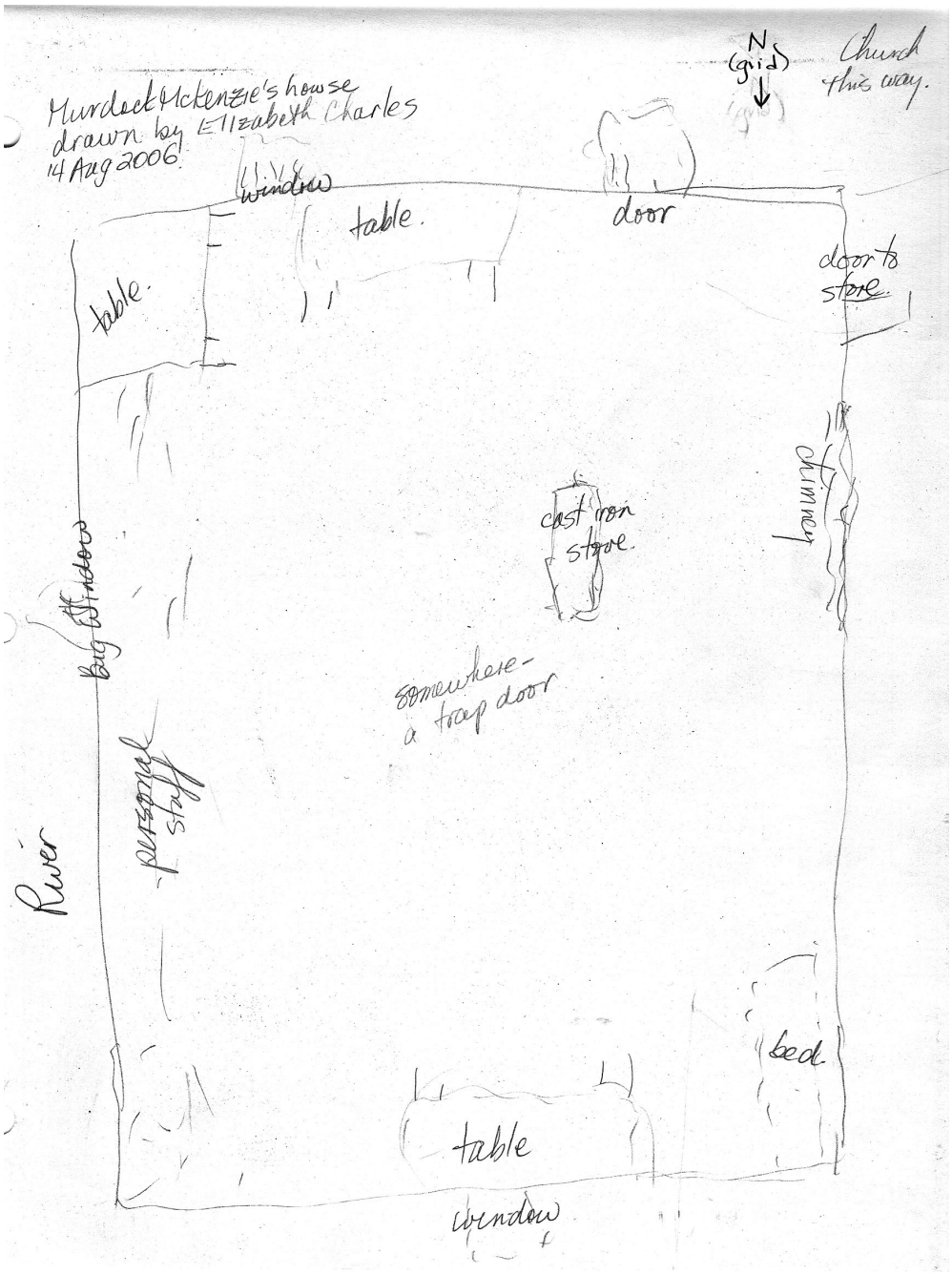

Figure 5.3: Layout of Murdoch McKenzie's cabin at the Stanley Mission Old Village drawn by Elizabeth Charles.

5.6 Discussion

The original excavation plan included some investigation in front of the cabin to establish where the hearths were located and to determine how the space was utilized, but by the second season the research changed direction towards identifying who may have lived in the cabin and

the associated time period. The Elders interviewed from Stanley Mission all agreed that the excavation had uncovered the remains of Murdoch McKenzie's cabin. Mr. McKenzie's cabin was located at the end of a row of cabins starting with Maria McKenzie's and Barbara Hardlotte's houses (Figure 5.4). Elizabeth Charles remembered that "[Maria and Barbara] lived together… but Murdoch was a little bit on this side" (SMEGI 2006). All three Elders in the group interview, Helen Visentine, Rosie McKenzie, and Elizabeth Charles, had an opportunity to look at a map of the Old Village drawn by Sally Milne and agreed that she had properly labelled the location of Murdoch's cabin in relation to other buildings (see Figure 5.4).

While there is no doubt that the Elders can remember the relative position of Murdoch's cabin was located in the Old Village during the early to mid 1900s, it may be more difficult to ascertain its exact location over 50 years later. It is important to keep in mind that the Elders would have been small children at the time and their young age coupled with the number of years that have passed could affect their memories. Also, the tree line has moved considerably closer to the river over the last half century. Presently, the Revillon Frères house is situated past the tree line, fully engulfed by the dense bush, but during the early 1900s, it was in the open. When Murdoch McKenzie's house was still standing there were other buildings and gardens in the Old Village to evaluate distance. However, since the 1970s the only building that has remained intact is Holy Trinity Church, significantly hindering anyone's ability to judge location based on recognizable landmarks.

The Elders were also asked what had happened to Murdoch's cabin once he passed away and, after a short discussion amongst themselves, Elizabeth remembered that her brother Sam and his wife had lived there for a period of time. She described the building as being "a good house when Murdoch died. A very, very good house. It wasn't, you know, to be torn down or to fall down anytime. And it was a good cabin" (SMEGI 2006). Elizabeth's sister-in-law, Nora, had been sick for quite a while and also passed away in this cabin, but Elizabeth admits that she cannot quite remember how long they lived there because "we were just in and out, in and out [of Stanley Mission], all the time, so. That's why I can't plainly remember… how long they lived in that house" (SMEGI 2006). It is unknown what happened to Mr. McKenzie's house after Elizabeth's relatives left; whether it was dismantled, demolished, burned down, or simply deteriorated over the years.

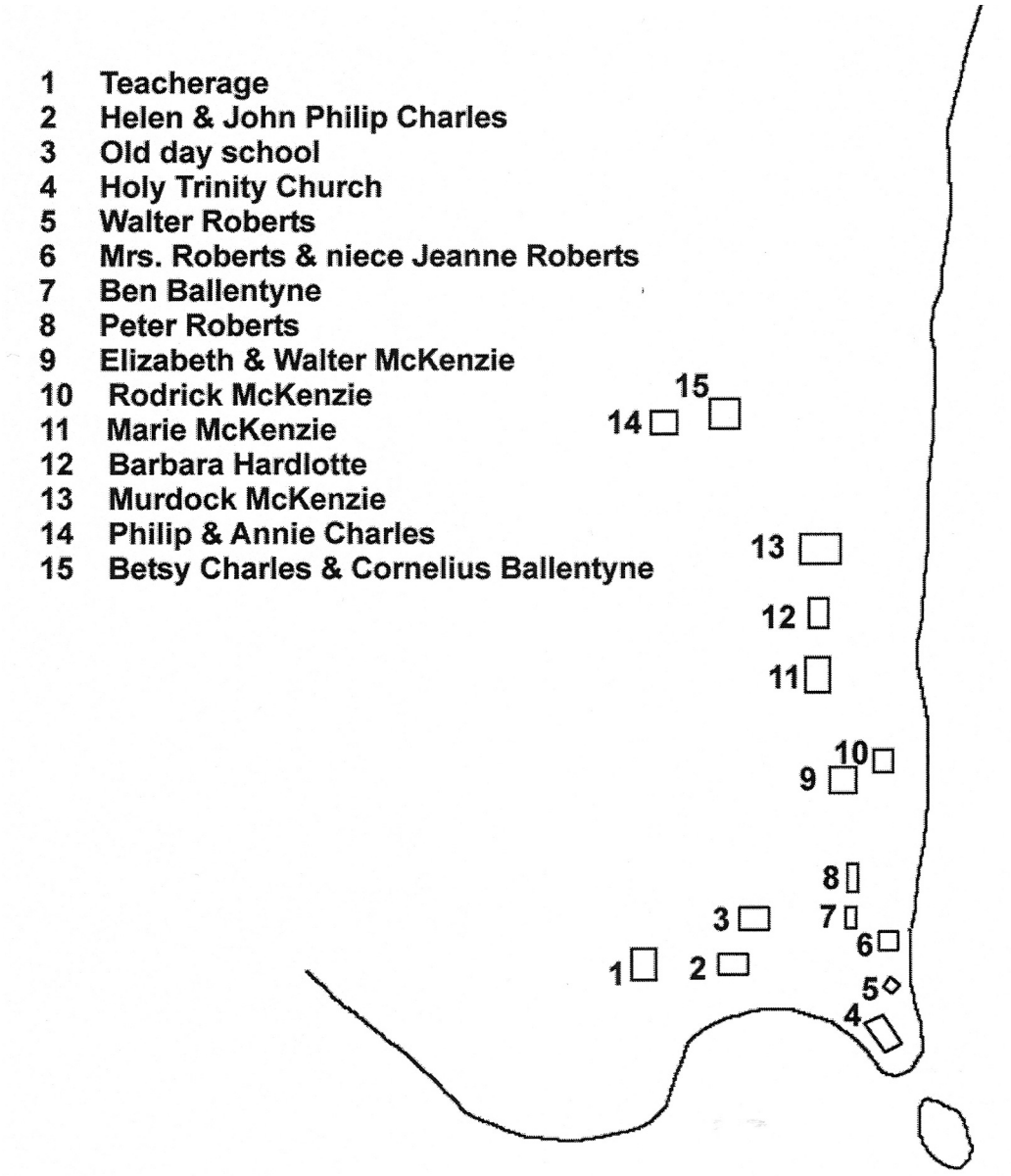

Figure 5.4: Map of the Stanley Mission Old Village drawn by Sally Milne March 20, 1999 (digitized by M. Hanna and now includes list of cabin occupants).

5.7 Conclusions

Although the interviews were successful in terms of gathering information from the Elders' point of view and contributing to the previously known history of the mission settlement, there are some things I would have done differently. It actually may have been more efficient to have two group interview sessions. The first could have been scheduled halfway through the field work and the second at the end of the season. This would have allowed for general

questions about growing up in the Old Village and personal questions to be contained in one interview. The second interview could have then focussed on questions that pertained to our findings from the excavation. Looking back on the whole process I wish I had asked more direct questions about the types of artifacts we had found. It also would have been useful to bring out some of the artifacts we had found throughout the field season and this may have prompted discussion about specific items.

As it was my first attempt at conducting an interview of this nature there are some things I have learned throughout this process. The first would have be to have a variety of general and more specific questions prepared. I also learned that you can never ask too many questions in order to better understand something. Maybe it was my lack of experience, but I now wish I had asked some follow up questions about some topics. I did find that using photographs and asking the informants to make sketches of the cabins they were describing added a level of understanding for both the interviewees and myself. These were also very useful for initiating discussion topics and, particularly for the Elders, for triggering memories from their past.

In terms of the amount of archaeological investigations and oral history interviews conducted, we have merely scratched the surface. The group interview did focus primarily on Murdoch McKenzie, his cabin, and the cabin layouts that the Elders discussed. As this was the second season of conducting these interviews with local Elders, it was used to gain a better understanding of the cabin excavation. The group interview would be specifically useful if more cabins are excavated in the future. I would suggest that subsequent interviews concentrate on questions surrounding the wide variety of artifacts that have been found.

The information about daily life at the Stanley Mission Old Village gathered from the Elders' recollections is unique amongst the historical resources. These oral accounts are the only sources of local history that represent a First Nations perspective; the other historical resources used in this thesis, such as missionary and trader journals, are from a European point of view. The Elders talked about the cabins that they grew up in or those of their grandparents and, therefore, their memories are of first-hand knowledge. Due to the presence of a cabin's remains in the excavation, many of discussion topics focussed on activities associated with the cabins and their immediate surroundings. The Elders provided an abundance of information about daily events and tasks, activities involving adults and children, and spending the summer at the mission. These accounts contribute greatly to the history of the area along the Churchill River,

the history of the mission settlement, and to the history of the Cree people of Stanley Mission. The Elders' memories of the Old Village may well be passed on to younger generations of Cree as part of their tradition, but if these interviews had not been conducted, the province would be deprived of an important segment of its history. It is my hope that historical archaeologists and other researchers take into account all of the pertinent sources of information, remembering that oral histories are a resource to be consulted whenever possible to achieve a more holistic view of the past.

The information obtained during the interview sessions, and specifically the group interview, will be used to try to determine if the cabin being excavated once belonged to Murdoch McKenzie. The following chapters will discuss various avenues of evidence in an attempt to answer this question. One will focus on the types of artifacts found during the excavation, which will give clues as to what objects and related activities are associated with the cabin and/or life at Stanley Mission. The structural remains will also be considered in detail to piece together the building techniques, possible time period of construction, and the fate of the cabin after it had been abandoned. Chapter 8 will compare all of these findings in conjunction with the historical and archival information discussed in Chapter 2, to possibly answer the questions surrounding this cabin.

Chapter 6

Material Culture

6.1 Introduction

Section 6.2 will provide some background information about the artifacts collected at Stanley Mission. Following this will be an examination of the classification scheme used to organize the artifacts. The bulk of this chapter will focus on the artifact descriptions and will be concluded with a discussion of the artifact interpretations.

6.2 Background Discussion

The artifacts collected during the 2006 and 2007 seasons were added to the pre-existing catalogue created in 2001. The 2001 catalogue ended with artifact #3952 and presently the total number of catalogued artifacts is 14,992. Thus, the 2006 and 2007 field seasons combined produced 11,040 artifacts with 11,155 individual pieces. This difference in numbers is because some artifacts, i.e. tin cans, are broken into multiple pieces and so the tin can would receive one artifact number, but it comprises several pieces, each counting as a piece. Only the artifacts found in the last two years of excavation will be discussed in this thesis as the objects collected in previous years of field work have been catalogued and analyzed (see Hanna 2001a; artifact catalogue in possession of the Royal Saskatchewan Museum). These will only be referred to in subsequent sections of this chapter. During the 2006 and 2007 field seasons, artifacts were collected from a few different locations. The majority of the collection was retrieved from excavated units at the Cree cabin, but others were recovered as surface finds in close proximity to the cabin and from two interment areas in the cemetery. During each field season there was a funeral held at Holy Trinity Church. As the graves had to be dug by hand, the crew was invited to sift through the upper layers of soil and clay to salvage any artifacts that were uncovered. The artifacts from the surface finds and the interment excavations will be included in the overall artifact description and artifact counts (separated out in the tables), but will not be a factor in the

discussion section at the end of the chapter. I believe that it is important for these other finds be included here because this thesis is serving as the permit report for both 2006 and 2007 field seasons.

All of the artifacts but one were brought back to the lab at the University of Saskatchewan where they were cleaned, bagged, labelled, and catalogued. Margaret Hanna took one artifact back with her to the RSM for conservation. This was added to the catalogue, but is still undergoing conservation.

"What are the possible avenues by which these goods were acquired?" is one of the important questions to consider when analyzing these artifacts. Commercially-bought items could have been purchased from the various trading posts located around the mission site. These included the HBC, Revillon Frères Company, and Lamson and Hubbard Company posts (see Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1: The HBC post buildings at Stanley, 1940, with the Mission in the background across the river (Keighley 1989:189).

Although these did not all exist for the same length of time they would have carried similar types of goods. In the mid and late 1800s, the stores' merchandise was brought in from the Red River Settlement (Winnipeg), but by the beginning of the 20th century, goods were brought in from closer places, such as Prince Albert. At first, all goods coming into Stanley Mission were transported by canoe, then by plane, and finally by road. The earlier modes of transportation would have severely limited the types and amounts of commodities available to people in these

remote areas. The HBC archives hold supply order records from the Stanley Mission (Rapid River) post that are useful for tracking the types and quantities of goods being requested.

Some of the artifacts found at the site could also have been donations from the Anglican Church. Rev. Mackay recalled that on Saturday, August 17, 1871, "two of the Company's boats belonging to [the HBC] post arrived. They brought a few of our supplies. Six packages including 3 Bales [sic] of gifts from Christian friends in England… we are thankful indeed for such substantial and useful tokens of Christian love" (Mackay 1963:112). It is not known how many donations were received at the mission or the contents of each delivery.

Commercial goods were imported directly into Stanley Mission beginning in 1853, but these items are not the only artifacts found at the site. Store-bought goods made up only a fraction of what people used day-to-day at their traplines. Sydney Keighley, a local HBC trader, admitted that all of life's necessities were provided by nature, with the initiative of a little hard work (1989). He goes on to illustrate that people "could make their own canoes, toboggans, cabins, teepees, clothes, and furniture from materials that were readily available in the bush. Nearly all of their food they could come by in the same manner" (Keighley 1989:86). The abundance of faunal and floral remains collected throughout the field seasons are evidence of animal procurement not only for fur trading, but for their personal clothing and food. Many of the goods purchased at the trading posts merely served as more efficient tools or objects for people to use in providing for themselves.

The collection as a whole sheds light on what life was like at the Old Village, with the majority of the population living at the village during summer months. This observation leads to a second question: when were these objects used? The cabin that was the focus of the 2006/07 field seasons was primarily occupied during the months from late spring to early fall. This short time span is another limiting factor in the accumulation of garbage. If the occupants were resident throughout the entire year, there would have been a significant increase in artifacts in and around the cabin. It is also important to keep in mind that the remains left behind by the inhabitants are the products of many planned abandonments. Since the occupants regularly moved away from the village each fall, all items left behind were stored for the next season's use or considered either unnecessary or unwanted. The final planned abandonment occurred when the community eventually moved to the south side of the river (which did not happen all at once,

but over a span of several years). These occupation and abandonment events will be kept in mind throughout the artifact descriptions discussed below in section 6.4.

6.3 Classification Scheme

The artifact catalogue for this collection is based on a classification scheme outlined and explained in "Nomenclature for Museum Cataloguing: A System for Classifying Man-made Objects" (Chenhall 1978). This system is based on the use of a lexicon, a standardized word list. The lexicon in this manual is based on man-made artifacts; it is "organized, internally consistent, and hierarchical" (Chenhall 1978:3). The nomenclature system is divided into 11 categories that are separated further into subcategories. Definitions are provided for all categories and subcategories, which outline the types of objects that can be included in each group. Chenhall (1978) also states that specimens that are not man-made should be classified under their own existing system. For example, plants and animals should be categorized using the biological classification system.

There are a few reasons why I chose to use the museum cataloguing scheme for this project. First, the RSM uses this cataloguing system for all of its collections. The initial catalogue for the Stanley Mission collection was already set up this way, thus I felt it was important to keep the cataloguing consistent and this is sometimes difficult to achieve when the research spans many years and involves several people. By following the nomenclature book, the catalogue should be consistent with the previous artifact identification and analysis. As well, the RSM had requested that I submit the catalogue in this format.

I have also faced several problems with using this cataloguing system. Category 10, Packages and Containers, is listed as having two subcategories: Product Package and Unclassified Containers. I find these titles a bit confusing because they refer to identifiable artifacts as packages and unclassifiable artifacts as containers. I have altered these two subheading titles to Product Package/Container and Unclassified Product Package/Container. This slight change clears up any misconceptions. Another issue with this system is that it is based on whole or complete artifacts and any partial or incomplete artifacts are to be listed under Artifact Remnant in the Unclassifiable Artifacts category because it was set up for museum collections. This rule has been ignored for this entire project. All artifacts have been placed in

their appropriate category even if they are fragments and all fragmented artifacts have been labelled accordingly. These issues have been addressed in the analysis in the following section.

Another concern that I have with this method of cataloguing is that the artifacts are to be categorized by the original use intended by the manufacturer. The categories are constructed and named in a way that does not allow for any variation in an object's functionality. This is partly due to the category labels in that they do not represent the functional categories most typically used in historical archaeological sites. (This issue is further developed in the discussion section of this chapter). As well, this system was set up for objects made and used in a western industrial context and does not consider an aboriginal world view. In previous excavations, Margaret Hanna had to alter this system to include artifacts such as lithic tools. It is important to keep these issues in mind while reading the following section of material culture analysis.

6.4 Material Culture Analysis

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, the following section is designated for the analysis of the artifacts and faunal remains. Please refer to Appendix A for artifact attribute tables, which include additional information about the artifacts such as size, material, location, and other descriptions. Since the classification scheme used for this collection was created through the collaboration of a large group of organizations, I feel it necessary to include

Table 6.1
Artifact Categories

Artifact Category	Surface Finds	Interment Excavation	Cabin Units	Totals
Structure	0	0	237	237
Building Furnishings	1	1	93	95
Personal Artifacts	0	13	1,121	1,134
Tools and Equipment	9	41	1,988	2,039
Communication Artifacts	0	0	60	60
Transportation Artifacts	0	0	1	1
Art Objects	0	0	2	2
Recreational Artifacts	1	1	12	13
Societal Artifacts	0	0	1	1
Packages and Containers	2	60	868	930
Unclassifiable Artifacts	1	7	1,219	1,227
Faunal Material	0	36	5,095	5,131
Flora Remains	0	0	285	285
Totals	**14**	**159**	**10,982**	**11,155**

explanations throughout this summary. Each section will begin with a definition of the category or subcategory outlined by Chenhall (1978). Table 6.1 lists all of the categories with their corresponding artifact quantities.

6.4.1 Structures

> "Artifacts originally created to serve as shelter from the elements or to meet some other human need in a relatively permanent location" (Chenhall 1978:54).

Table 6.2
Structures (All from Cabin Units)

Artifact Sub-category/Object	Totals
Building Fragment	
Shingle Fragments	233
Stained Glass Fragments	4
Total	**237**

Building Fragments

These are artifacts that were originally created to be structural or decorative segments of a building (Chenhall 1978:57). The only buildings that remain standing from the Mission are the church and a small outbuilding in the church yard, now used for storage. Above the surface nothing remains of the Cree cabins, school, mission buildings, or trading posts. The Cree cabin of focus has only archaeological expressions and consists of squared logs from the walls, frame, and beams, several floor boards, and a chimney base. These were all measured and mapped. The only building remnants that were collected are fragments of shingles and stained glass. There are many asphalt shingle fragments (n=233) included in the assemblage and these would have been used on various buildings throughout the village. Due to the decomposing state of the shingles, the material is extremely friable resulting in a high number of fragments that become even more fragmented once transported to the laboratory. The shingle fragments were present throughout the cabin area but were more abundant in the uppermost levels, as shingles became more common in later years. Thatched roofs on earlier cabins can be see in photographs from ca. 1915. There are also four stained glass fragments. Two of these are dark blue in colour and the other two are dark green. The two blue glass fragments are from unit 38N9E, NE quad, level 8 (35-40 cm BS). They are the same thickness, 1.8 mm, and are less than 2 cm^2 in size. One of

the green fragments is smooth on one side and textured on the other, resembling orange peel. This textured piece was recovered from 41N7E, measuring 3.1 mm thick, and 39.2 x 22.3 mm in size. The second green piece of glass is from 39N9E, is only 1.8 mm thick, and measures 35.5 x 19.8 mm. All of these coloured glass fragments are flat and translucent and are presumably for the church.

6.4.2 Building Furnishings

> "Artifacts originally created to be used in or around buildings for the purpose of providing comfort, care and pleasure to the occupants" (Chenhall 1978:63).

Table 6.3
Building Furnishings

Artifact Subcategory/Object	Surface Finds	Interment Excavation	Cabin Units	Totals
Furniture				
Handles	0	0	4	4
Mirror Fragments	0	0	4	4
Household Accessory				
Key Handle	0	1	0	1
Lock Part	0	0	1	1
Lighting Device				
Chimney Lamp Fragments	0	0	81	81
Oil Lamp Wick Guide	0	0	1	1
Light Bulb Bases	0	0	2	2
Temperature Control Device				
Stove Door	1	0	0	1
Totals	1	1	93	**95**

Furniture

This subcategory includes objects that were originally manufactured to be relatively permanent, though movable, furnishings for a living space, an office, or any public building (Chenhall 1978:63-64). Four furniture handles were found at the cabin excavation. Two of these handles are the same type of metal handle, although one is a fragment. The complete handle is 100 x 47 mm in size and from 36N8E, while the fragmented handle is 101.5 x 94 mm and from 38N9E. Another handle is from a drawer and includes a nail corroded onto one end. This is a small fragment, only measuring 54 x 20 mm and was recovered from level 2 (5-10 cm

BS) of unit 39N4E. The final handle, from 39N9E, is quite long, measuring 242 mm in length and 23 mm in width. The ends of the handle, which were attached to the piece of furniture, are elongated and decoratively shaped with one hole in each. This subcategory also contains four plain mirror fragments and each from a different unit: 42N2E, 38N9E, 41N5E, 40N3E. All fragments, measuring less than 53 x 34 mm in size, are flat, clear glass with a mirror film on the reverse side. This reflective coating is very brittle and continues to flake off the glass. The fragments range in thickness from 1.3-2.2 mm.

Household Accessory

These artifacts were originally created to be placed in or near a building for a common utilitarian purpose. This category includes small furnishings, special household containers, and furniture protection objects, but does not include purely decorative artifacts, or devices used in a productive housekeeping activity (Chenhall 1978:71). Two artifacts were assigned to this subcategory. The first is a long, ferrous metal key handle with a loop at the end. This artifact was collected from one of the interment locations. The second artifact is part of a lock mechanism, likely from a piece of furniture. It measures 52.5 x 28.1 x 9.2 mm, is made of a ferrous metal, and was collected from 38N9E, at level 8 (35-40 cm BS).

Lighting Device

This category includes artifacts originally created to provide illumination. It includes lighting accessories, general-purpose portable lighting devices, and non-portable lighting fixtures (Chenhall 1978:73). There were 81 chimney lamp fragments collected from unit 39N3E, levels 2-4 (5-20 cm BS). This artifact type can be further divided into two groups: chimney lamp body fragments and chimney lamp rim fragments. All of the body fragments are clear and curved with the thickness ranging from 0.5-1.7 mm. Eight are from the rim and have a decorative scalloped edge. These artifacts are also clear in colour. This lighting subcategory also includes one oil lamp wick guide. This ferrous metal artifact is from a kerosene lamp and serves as the mechanism for guiding the wick from the fuel tank into the globe chamber. It is 63.6 mm in width, 41.6 mm in height, and from 42N3E. There are also two objects that indicate a more modern approach towards illumination. These are bases from incandescent type light bulbs. One base was found in 39N6E and the other came from 43N3E. The north side of the river was never supplied with electricity so the light bulb bases may have come from a battery powered device such as a flashlight.

Temperature Control Device

The temperature control device subcategory includes artifacts originally created to control the temperature within a building. It does not include relatively permanent structural parts of a building or devices to control temperature for some purpose other than human comfort (Chenhall 1978:76). A door from a cast iron stove is the sole artifact that is listed in the temperature control device subcategory. Although this object was collected from the surface northeast of the excavation area, it does represent an important aspect of many of the Cree cabins at the mission. Many cabins had a fireplace, but the majority also had a centrally located stove used for both cooking and as a source of heat. The plate measures 260 x 96.6 x 10 mm and has the phrase "CLEAN OUT" embossed on the front. On either end there is a hole, one with a corroded screw and nut. The centre of this plate contains the narrow rectangular door and there are also several decorative embossed elements. This door would have been positioned near the bottom of the stove, which allowed for easy removal of any accumulated ash.

6.4.3 Personal Artifacts

> "Artifacts originally created to serve the personal needs of individuals as clothing, adornment, body protection, grooming aids, or symbols of beliefs or achievements" (Chenhall 1978:79).

Table 6.4
Personal Artifacts

Artifact Subcategory/Object	Surface Finds	Interment Excavation	Cabin Units	Totals
Adornment				
Beads	0	4	906	910
Charms	0	0	4	4
Jewelry Links	0	0	41	41
Pin/Broach	0	0	1	1
Rhinstone	0	0	1	1
Clothing				
Fabric Fragments	0	0	43	43
Lace Fragments	0	2	0	2
Ribbon Fragment	0	0	1	1
Clothing, Footwear				
Footwear Fragments	0	5	15	20
Moccasin Rubbers	0	1	5	6
Clothing Accessory				
Buttons	0	0	49	49
Hooks	0	0	2	2
Eyelets	0	0	3	3
Snap	0	0	1	1
Buckle	0	0	1	1

Suspender Parts	0	1	9	10
Personal Gear				
Pipe Fragments	0	0	9	9
Locket/Watch Cover	0	0	1	1
Toilet Article				
Comb Fragments	0	0	24	24
Bobby Pins	0	0	5	5
Totals	0	13	1,121	**1,134**

Adornment

This is an artifact originally created to be worn on the human body or on clothing as decoration or ornamentation (Chenhall 1978:79). The Personal Artifact category is largely made up of adornment objects, specifically beads (n=910). Hundreds of beads were recovered from the site and include various types such as seed beads, pony beads, tubular, and round beads. The bead analysis utilizes the identification system from "Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History – No. 1," compiled by Kidd and Kidd (1970). Table A.2 (Appendix A) displays the beads found in 2006 and 2007, and organizes them by classification type, colour, size, shape, and finally, clarity (also see Table A.1 in Appendix A for an abbreviation guide for bead classification). As one can see from Table A.2, the collection contains a wide variety of beads of all different shapes and colours. Most of the beads fit well into the classification system, but several did not and were classified as best as possible. The purpose of using such a system is to organize the beads logically using a classification method accessible to everyone as well as adding to a growing database of beads found at historical archaeological sites across Canada. The majority of the beads fall into the type commonly known as seed beads (lla#). These very small (VS) and small (S) size beads were, and still are, commonly used as clothing and footwear decoration. Most of these tiny beads are round and smooth, but several are facetted with four, five, or six sides. An example of these types of beads can be seen in Figure 6.2. Another common bead type is the pony bead. These are classified as lla# and being L (large) in size. Pony beads are also used for clothing decoration and other crafted items. At the Stanley Mission Old Village site, most of the pony beads are a light shade of blue and a sample can be seen in Figure 6.2. The last three beads listed in Table A.2 did not fit any classification type, but are described using the identification attributes of size, shape, and clarity.

One artifact that did not make it back to the lab for analysis is a small section of seed beads in a pattern. On top of these beads was a fine layer of light brown organic material, which was most likely a portion of disintegrated hide onto which the beads were sewn onto. This item

is currently at the RSM for conservation. Almost all of the beads are made of glass, but there are several that are plastic and these include: 1 - la1, Redwood, VS, T, op; 4 - lla13, White, S, R, op; 1 - lla22, Mustard Tan, S, R, op; and 1 - lla22, Mustard Tan, M, R, op.

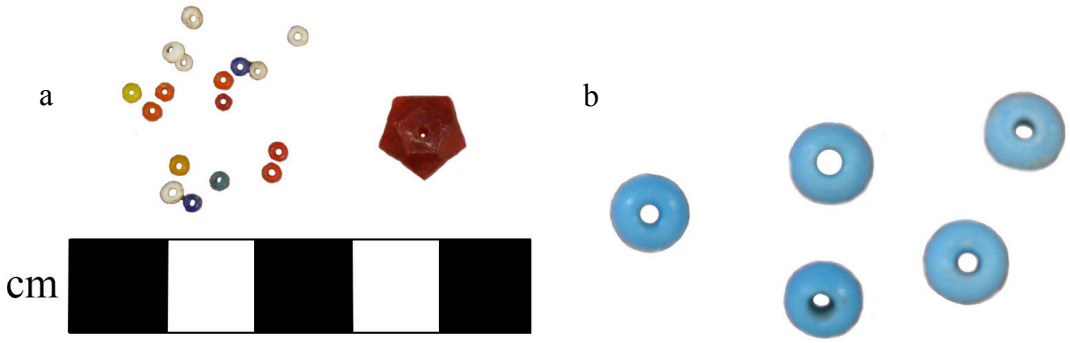

Figure 6.2: Beads a) seed beads and one large facetted bead; b) Pony beads.

Although beads make up a large percentage of the adornment sub-category, other objects were also uncovered. The four unique charms found at the site each came from a separate unit (see Table A.3 in Appendix A for locations and measurements). The two plastic ones are of a more playful nature; one is a silver blimp and the other a green lion. Artifact #5401 is a metal peapod-shaped object containing three out of the original seven clear rhinestones. The final charm is a round metal cup with tiny pieces of white and blue glass inserted to form the shape of a flower (Figure 6.3).

Other adornment artifacts include 41 jewellery links and these were found together in unit 43N3E at level 3 (10-15 cm BS). They are made of a non-ferrous metal and measure 3.8 x 2.4 mm in size and could be from a necklace or bracelet chain. There is also one brooch pin, which is comprised of a straight pin with a loop at one end. This object was uncovered from unit 40N5E. The final object in this subcategory is a very small, plastic gem that is red in colour and diamond shaped. It measures 5.3 x 3.4 mm in size and was recovered from 39N7E, SW quad, level 4 (15-20 cm BS).

Clothing

The clothing subcategory includes artifacts that were originally created to be used as covering for the human body and incorporates underwear, outerwear, headwear, footwear and accessories (Chenhall 1978:80). The fabric fragments (n=43) within this group have not been classified any further than the level of clothing fragment, as they are too small to identify the type of covering. Five black felt fragments were found throughout the excavation area, four of

which are similar and one includes a metal snap (39N6E). The other small felt fragment was recovered from 38N9E at a depth of 35-40 cm BS. All fragments mentioned above measure smaller than 11 x 8 cm. There were also several pieces of knit fabric found. A large green

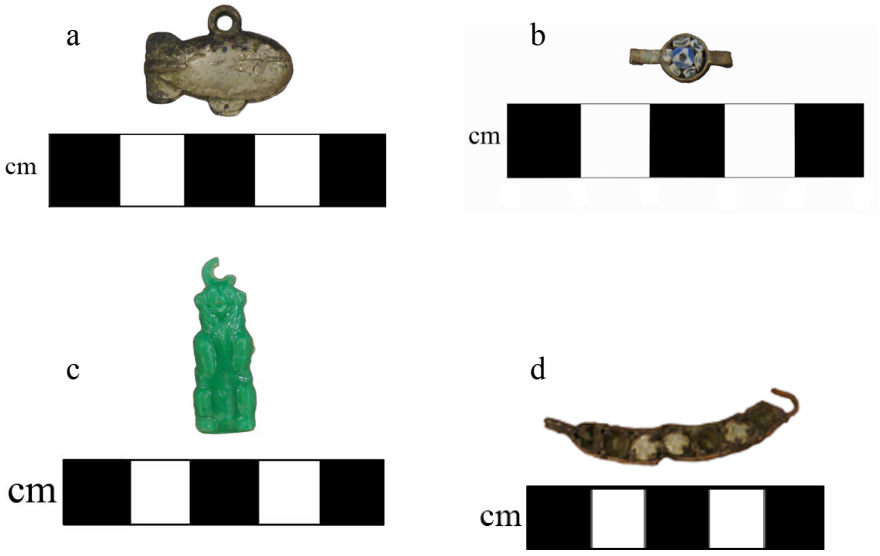

Figure 6.3: Charms a) Blimp; b) Coloured glass flower; c) Lion; d) Peapod.

fragment, measuring 165.1 x 111.3 mm, was obtained from 43N3E. Two other grey pieces were also from the same unit. The remaining 14 fragments are either grey or white and are smaller than 153 x 79 mm. These knit artifacts were all located within the top 15 cm of deposition. Twenty-one pieces of black or brown woven fabric were collected from several different units and at varying depths. Most are in fairly good condition with the largest fragment measuring 125.5 x 73.1 mm. Ten are extremely fragile and small, fitting into a specimen bottle, and could not be measured.

Aside from fabric there are also two lace fragments and one piece of ribbon. The lace fragments are of the same pattern and size, presumably from the same article of clothing. This white lace is machine made and is 45.3 mm wide. Together, the artifacts are 59.3 mm long and were found at an interment area excavation. The single ribbon fragment is a narrow (5.8 mm) piece of dark blue ribbon (52.5 mm long). The material is unknown and was retrieved from unit 38N5E in level 7(30-35 mm BS).

Clothing, Footwear

Twenty pieces of footwear were collected from the site. Detailed descriptions and provenience of all footwear fragments can be found in Table A.4 in Appendix A. All footwear

sole fragments that are complete have measurements in inches to give an idea of shoe size and these are included in the general description. Figure 6.4 shows an example of the types of shoe and boot fragments found at Stanley Mission. There are also six moccasin rubber fragments included in this subcategory. The moccasin rubber artifact descriptions are also included in Table A.4. Moccasin rubbers are used to cover footwear, historically moccasins, to keep them from getting wet while walking outside. They not only keep footwear dry, but also prolong the life-span of the moccasin's sole, keeping it safe from the wear and tear it would endure from the ground and other rough surfaces (see Figure 6.4).

Clothing Accessory

The artifact type second highest in number in the Personal Artifacts category is buttons (n=49). Many different types of buttons were found throughout the site, and for convenience, their descriptions are in Table A.5 (see Appendix A). The excavation produced some unique button finds such as nine shell buttons, of which six are 2-hole and three 4-hole. One 4-hole wooden button was also found. There are several buttons from suspenders; three include the wording: (1) "Suspender Patent" and (2) "KING OF THE ROAD." The collection also includes a clear, glass ball with two holes close together on the back and an embossed flower design on the front (Figure 6.5). The remaining buttons are made of glass, plastic, metal or shell.

Figure 6.4: Footwear a) Shoe sole fragments with nails; b) moccasin rubber fragment.

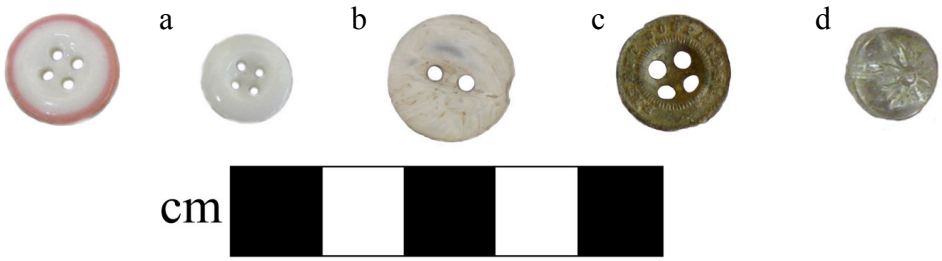

Figure 6.5: Buttons a) Milk glass buttons (2); b) Shell button; c) Metal suspender button; d) Round glass button with incised flower.

Several different types of clothing fasteners were found at Stanley Mission. This collection contains two hooks, which are fasteners partnered with an eye when attached to clothing, forming a hook-and-eye closure. Both metal artifacts were retrieved from level 4 (20-25 cm BS) and from neighbouring units, 38N9E and 39N9E. Three eyelets were recovered from the excavation. Artifact # 5370 is the smallest eyelet, measuring 1.6 x 7.1 mm and artifact # 6863 is the largest, measuring 4.0 x 13.5 mm. The eyelets could be from clothing or footwear. One non-ferrous metal snap was collected from 41N5E at level 4 (20-25 cm BS). Being a light-weight piece of hardware, it could possibly be from a shirt. There is also one small buckle measuring 5.9 x 31.3 x 25.1 mm and was located just outside the north wall of the cabin at level 5 (25-30 cm BS).

There were several suspender parts (n=10) uncovered at Stanley Mission. Artifact #9522, a clasp or buckle-type closure to adjust the length of the straps, is approximately 50 x 20 mm in size and can be seen in Figure 6.6. Another artifact, #6659, is similar in type to the previously mentioned clasp, but is smaller in size only measuring 30 x 25 mm. Another type of clasp on suspenders is the point where the strap joins onto pants or the bib of overalls. Artifact #5607 is an example of the clothing hardware used to attach the suspender strap to two buttons sewn on the pants. This metal object has a long slot where the strap would thread through and then hanging down is a saddle-shaped opening (see Figure 6.6). A leather strip with a button hole on each end would be passed through this opening and attached to the buttons on the pants. Artifacts #7639 and 7640 are leather tabs with a button hole at one end and the other end attached to a metal ‘D’ ring (Figure 6.6). The metal rings would attach to the bottom of the suspender strap and the loops would fit over buttons on a pair of pants. Artifact #8473 has the same function, but a different design. This metal object is used to attach a suspender strap onto a

button on the overall bib. The top has a loop for the strap to go through and then a loop at the bottom, which slips over top of the button. It measures 40 mm wide, but is too distorted to measure the length. Artifacts #7637 and 7638, a pentagonal-shaped piece of leather and a metal hinge, fit together. This part of the suspenders is located where the strap attaches to one of the clasps and can be seen in Figure 6.6. The remaining two suspender parts that were uncovered are suspender slides. These rectangular objects both measure approximately 50 x 20 mm and have a metal bar across the length. These are used to adjust the length of the straps.

Figure 6.6: Suspender Parts a) Artifact #9522 buckle; b) Artifact #5607 suspender hardware; c) Artifacts #7637-7638 suspender hardware; d) Artifacts #7639-7640 button tabs.

Personal Gear

This is an artifact originally created to be used by an individual as a carrying device, a protective apparatus, a personal or physical aid, or as personal smoking equipment (Chenhall 1978:89). Nine pipe fragments were collected during the excavation. All pipe fragments are either of the stem or mouthpiece. Seven are stem fragments from ball clay pipes, none of which

have maker's marks (Figure 6.7). The borehole diameters were measured on those that were complete tubes and this information can be found in Table A.6 in Appendix A. Because these pipes are from the mid-1800s and later, date ranges could not be obtained by bore diameter measurements. The remaining two pipe fragments are from a much larger type of pipe, having a wooden stem and vulcanized rubber mouthpiece. Vulcanite is a synthetic material that is essentially sulfurized rubber. It became a popular material for pipe mouthpieces around 1878 and may have even been used as early as 1865 (Bradley 2000: 124). This type of pipe is referred to as a two-unit composite pipe as it is made up of two components (Bradley 2000:104-105). The mouthpiece is a tenon style, specifically a push tenon; there is a smooth tube projecting from the mouthpiece and this fits snugly into the wooden shank (Bradley 2000:124). These two artifacts, as seen in Figure 6.7, were found in-situ fitted together, but the deteriorating condition of the wooden stem caused the two to fall apart upon excavation. All pipe locations, measurements, and descriptions can be found in the table below. This subcategory also includes one locket or watch cover and this was retrieved from 39N7E at level 8 (35-40 cm BS). It is a very thin, oval disk (1.1 x 41.5 x 32.8 mm) and made of a cuprous metal.

Figure 6.7: Pipe fragments a) Vulcanite mouthpiece with wooden stem; b) Ball clay pipe mouthpiece and stem.

Toilet Article

A toilet artifact was originally created to be used for human body care and grooming (Chenhall 1978:94). This collection includes 24 comb fragments. There are two comb bodies, one pink and one black, with the teeth broken off. There is also a green comb handle that is plain and a yellow comb handle with wording: "made in Canada…welgr…." The remaining 20 artifacts are comb teeth of varying colours: four red, two white, seven black, two orange, two

mint green, one blue, and two brown. All comb fragments are plastic. Table A.7 lists all of these comb fragments along with their provenience and measurements (see Appendix A). The Toilet Article subcategory also includes five metal bobby pins, all the same size, measuring 50 mm long and 1.7 mm wide. Each bobby pin was collected from a separate unit (36N8E, 38N9E, 39N4E, 37N2E, 39N6E) and all were located in the top three levels (0-15 cm BS).

6.4.4 Tools and Equipment (T&E)

> "Artifacts originally created to be used in carrying on an activity such as an art, craft, trade, profession or hobby; the tools, implements and equipment used in the process of modifying available resources for some human purpose" (Chenhall 1978:96).

Table 6.5
Tools and Equipment (T&E)

Artifact Subcategory/Object	Surface Finds	Interment Excavation	Cabin Units	Totals
Agricultural T&E				
Birchbark Basket Fragment	0	0	1	1
Armament T&E				
Skeet Fragments	0	0	18	18
Gun Flint Fragments	0	0	3	3
Armament T&E, Ammunition				
Shell Bases/Cases	1	0	15	16
Cartridge Cases	1	2	22	25
Musket Balls	0	0	4	4
Percussion Caps	0	0	3	3
Lead Shot	0	0	5	5
Electrical and Magnetic T&E				
Battery Fragments	0	0	2	2
Wire Fragments	0	0	4	4
Fishing and Trapping T&E				
Trap	0	0	1	1
Fish Hooks	0	0	3	3
Food Processing T&E				
Stoneware Crockery Fragments	2	2	6	10
Trapper's Stove Fragments	0	0	18	18
Food Service T&E				
Cutlery	0	0	6	6
Flatware Fragments	1	14	210	225
Hollowware Fragments	1	1	134	136
Vessel Handles	0	0	2	2
Unknown Vessel Fragments	0	0	40	40
Vessel Lid Fragment	0	0	0	1
Housekeeping T&E				

Clothespin Spring	0	0	1	1
Blue Graniteware Fragments	0	4	0	4
Mechanical T&E				
Gears	0	0	4	4
Musical T&E, Unclassified				
Harmonica Reed Plate	0	0	1	1
Textile Working T&E				
Sewing Needles	0	0	27	27
Safety Pins	0	0	4	4
Straight Pins	0	0	2	2
Crochet Hook	0	0	1	1
Woodworking T&E				
Nails	1	16	1404	1421
Fence Staples	0	0	8	8
Spikes	0	2	8	10
Tacks	0	0	4	4
Screws	0	0	8	8
Eye Hook	0	0	1	1
Corrugated Fasteners	0	0	3	3
Crooked Knife Blade	0	0	1	1
Nuts	0	0	2	2
File Fragments	0	0	3	3
Bolts	0	0	2	2
Washer	0	0	1	1
Axe Head	0	0	1	1
Unclassified T&E, General				
Staples	0	0	3	3
Clamp	0	0	1	1
Gromet	0	0	1	1
Unclassified T&E, Special				
Large Bolt	1	0	0	1
Crank	1	0	0	1
Totals	9	41	1,988	**2,039**

Agricultural T&E

These artifacts were originally created to be used in farming or gardening. The group includes a variety of implements used in planting, harvesting and storing crops and in processing food for animals (Chenhall 1978:97). A very unique artifact recovered from unit 39N9E is a portion of a birch bark berry basket (SW quadrant, Level 4 (15-20 cm BS). This object is made up of two panels of the original basket that overlap at the seam, as seen is Figure 6.8. The seam has 13 sewing holes for stitching with split spruce roots. Upon initial excavation, the artifact was intact, but in a short time the spruce roots dried out and fell apart. These four-sided baskets were handmade and were typically used to store food or collect berries, but are eminently useful in nature and could also have stored other items as well. Elizabeth Charles remembers her

grandmother keeping her basket full of berries at her side, protecting it from her many grandchildren who loved to eat the small, wild fruit (personal communication August 23, 2006).

Figure 6.8: Birch bark basket fragment with seam holes.

Armament T&E

This sub-category includes artifacts originally created to be used for hunting, target shooting, warfare or self-protection. Specifically, it includes firearms, artillery, bladed and striking weapons, but does not include objects designed for transporting troops or supplies (Chenhall 1978:116). Eighteen skeet fragments were recovered during the excavation. Ten of these fragments are from unit 42N2E, SW or SE quadrants, and level 5 (20-25 cm BS). The remaining eight were recovered from the unit directly to the east, 42N3E (no unit provenience recorded). All the skeet fragments are reddy-brown in colour and some exhibit rings/grooves on the upper surface. The material resembles ceramic, but is probably a resin and pulverized rock mixture. The excavation produced three fragments of gun flint all measuring approximately 13 x 12 x 3 mm and of a light brown-grey flint material. One fragment was situated in 38N9E at a depth of 35-40 cm BS, while the other two came from 39N9E in level 4 (15-20 cm BS).

Armament T&E, Ammunition

Hunting was an important aspect of daily life at Stanley Mission since it provided a source of food, hides and furs for personal use, and furs for trading. Although there were no guns or gun parts found during the excavation, many types of ammunition were collected. These include shotgun shell cases (n=16), cartridge cases (n=25), lead shot (n=5), percussion caps (n=3), and even musket balls (n=4). In total, the two-season excavation produced 53 pieces of ammunition. Table A.8 in Appendix A lists all the ammunition objects and includes provenience information. Rim diameter, case length, and base diameter were measured, except on those that were broken (these incomplete measurements are represented by N/A). Headstamp markings are recorded in the description column. A few shotgun shell bases are noted to have headstamps, but are either too corroded or bent to be legible. Many of the cartridge cases and shotgun shells have markings indicating the manufacturer and calibre. Several of the .22 calibre cartridge cases exhibit a "D" head stamp identifying it as a Dominion Cartridge Co. product. There are three .30 calibre cartridge cases with head stamps that read "W.R.A. Co. .30 W.C.F." which were manufactured by Winchester Repeating Arms Co. Two other companies that make an appearance in the ammunition collection are the British Kynoch and Eley companies. All of the cartridge cases, shell bases/cases, and percussion caps are made of brass or a ferrous metal and the musket balls and shot are lead. Figure 6.9 displays a few examples of the types of ammunition. Any information regarding the date of manufacture for the cartridge cases and shotgun shell cases is listed in the associated information column in the Table A.8.

Electrical and Magnetic T&E

This is an artifact originally created to be used in the observation, measurement and recording of electrical and magnetic items. It includes such things as tools, equipment and components used in the manufacture, installation and repair of electrical and electronic devices (Chenhall 1978:138). Two D-cell battery fragments are included in this subcategory. One was recovered from 43N3E, NW quadrant, level 2 (5-10 cm BS), and measures 61.8 x 32.1 mm. It is highly corroded and no writing is visible on the exterior. The second battery base measures 29.1 mm in diameter. This battery fragment was located in 41N3E, NE quadrant, level 3 (10-15 cm BS). The electrical and magnetic equipment also includes four fragments of wire. A wire fragment from 42N2E, SE quadrant, level 5 (20-25 cm BS) is 64 mm long and made of a ferrous

Figure 6.9: Ammunition a) 22 calibre cartridge case "D"; b) 16 gauge shotgun shell case "WINCHESTER NO. 16"; c) 12 gauge shotgun shell base "DOMINION made in No 12 Canada CANUCK"; d) 16 gauge shotgun shell base "DOMINION NO 16 EMPTY"; e) musket ball.

metal that is twisted to form a cord, but the function is unknown. The second fragment is a non-ferrous metal with a fibrous covering and very small contact attached at one end. This object measures 90 mm in length and was collected from 39N3E, NE quadrant, level 2 (5-10 cm BS). The last two wire fragments were found in very close proximity to one another in 43N3E, SE quadrant, level 2 (5-10 cm BS), and are both made of a ferrous metal. One is 3.5 x 25.1 mm and the other measures 1.7 x 41.4 mm.

Fishing and Trapping T&E

This subcategory contains artifacts originally created to be used in the taking of fish, land animals, birds or reptiles without the use of weapons (Chenhall 1978:140). Fishing and trapping were very important aspects of daily life in Stanley Mission and both of these activities are represented in this subcategory. A portion of an animal trap was uncovered from 42N2E, SE quadrant, level 4 (15-20 cm BS). It is made up of a ring that is 44 mm in diameter and a short chain. All together it measures 92 mm in length (Figure 6.10). As well, three fish hooks were collected from the Stanley Mission Old Village site (e.g. Figure 6.10,b). Two are of similar size, 42.9 mm and 53.9 mm long, and were located in 39N4E, NE quadrant, level 6 (25-30 cm BS),

and 39N8E, SW, level 4 (15-20 cm BS), respectively. The third hook, from 38N9E, SE quadrant, level 9 (40-45 cm BS), is considerably larger measuring 102.2 mm in length.

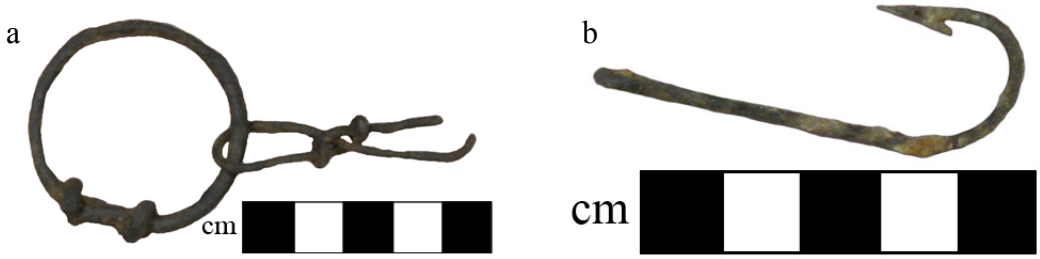

Figure 6.10: Fishing and Trapping Artifacts a) Animal trap fragment; b) Fish hook.

Food Processing T&E

This is a group composed of artifacts originally created to be used in the processing, storage or preparation of food or beverages. It includes all equipment used to process food substances (Chenhall 1978:142). The crew collected nine stoneware fragments from Stanley Mission, but during cleaning, #6229 broke and thus the number equals ten. Five fragments were found within the grid units; two are surface finds, and two from one of the interment area excavations. The specifics concerning the provenience, measurements and descriptions are included in Table A.9 in Appendix A. The paste colours range from whitish-grey to buff. Some of the decorative features include brown glaze, clear slip with brown flecks, dark brown salt glaze, and incising. There are no maker's marks present on any of the fragments and, therefore, general manufacturing dates could not be attributed to any pieces. Several fragments of a trapper's stove (n=18) were located within 41N5E, NE quadrant, level 2 (5-10 cm BS). During excavation, all fragments were part of four to five large pieces, but the metal was extremely fragile and broke into multiple fragments. All pieces measure 2.2 mm thick and the largest is 415 x1 70 mm. Lying *in situ*, the pieces formed a portion of the top of the stove that surrounded the chimney.

Food Service T&E

These artifacts were manufactured to be used in the service or consumption of food or beverages (Chenhall 1978:152). Six fragments of table cutlery were uncovered from the grid units. Unit 36N7E, SW quadrant, level 1-2 (0-10 cm BS) produced a table fork with a wooden handle with measurements of 131.1 x 17.2 x 10.9 mm (Figure 6.11,a). The wood handle, originally attached by two rivets, is very fragile; part of it has become detached. A table knife

blade, from 39N6E, level 7 (30-35 cm BS), is made of a ferrous metal and measures 65.8 x 15.5 x 4.2 mm. This artifact does not have a handle and the blade tip comes to a point. A non-ferrous knife handle was recovered from 43N3E, SW quadrant, level 3 (10-15 cm BS) and is 105.3 x 16.3 x 7.3 mm in size. A complete knife was found with a wooden handle and a ferrous metal blade that spans the entire length. This artifact, from the first two levels (0-10 cm BS) of 38N8E, measures 243 x 25.6 x 2.3 mm in size and the handle is held together by four rivets (Figure 6.11,b). One other utensil fragment was recovered from the site in unit 36N8E, SE quadrant, level 3(10-15cmBS), and is the end of the handle. It is a large rectangular piece of non-ferrous metal that measures 34.9x23.6x2.0 mm. This style of utensil closely resembles the Chapman's 1867 patent "non-matching" fork handle that was sold into the 1930s (Dunning 2000:41), but this identification cannot be certain as the artifact lacks a manufacturer's mark. The final artifact in this group is a long, rectangular piece of black stone. It measures 90x16x10 mm and was recovered from 37N2E level 3(10-15cmBS). There are "x"s and other lines incised on all sides of the artifact. Although the stone is broken at one end (presumably the hafting end), it appears to be some kind of homemade handle made of a ground silicified siltstone. The corners and edges are very smooth indicating heavy use.

Figure 6.11: Cutlery a) Fork with wooden handle portions; b) Knife with wooden handle portions.

The food service subcategory contains a large number of artifacts, most of which can be identified as ceramic fragments. Figure 6.12 illustrates the percentage of each of the four waretypes present in the collection. The ceramic fragments have been divided into groups based

on vessel type or vessel portion: flatware, hollowware, vessel handle, vessel lid, and unknown vessel. To conveniently describe all of these fragments, each vessel type was then broken down into waretype and decorative method. (Please refer to tables 6.6, 6.7, 6.8, 6.9, and 6.10 for quantities and specific decorative method descriptions).

Table 6.6 lists the number of flatware ceramic fragments (n=225) recovered from the site according to waretype and decorative method.

The 11 porcelain fragments include several decorative methods. Two exhibit moulded relief around the rim, but are too small to indicate any pattern. The two underglaze printed fragments display green and blue lines close to the rim. One of the plain porcelain saucer fragments includes a partial maker's mark, "...PAN MA…." No further information can be gathered from this stamp.

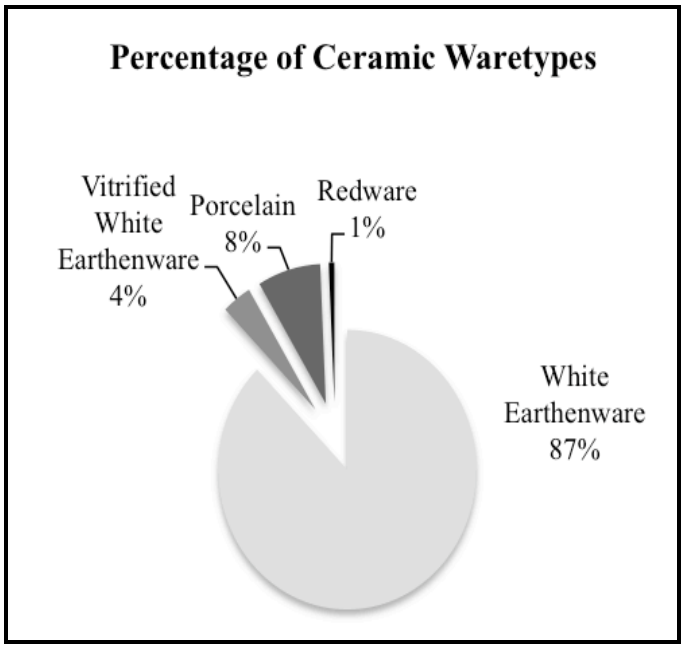

Figure 6.12: Pie chart illustrating the percentage of ceramic waretypes in the artifact assemblage.

Table 6.6
Flatware Ceramic Fragments:
Waretype and Decorative Methods

Waretype	Decorative Method	Totals
Porcelain		
	Plain	7
	Moulded Relief	2
	Underglaze Printed	2
White Earthenware		
	Plain	94

	Underglaze Painted	2
	Overglaze Painted	1
	Underglaze Printed	103
	Overglaze Printed	2
	Stamped	4
	Guilded	1
Vitrified White Earthenware		
	Plain	1
	Moulded Relief	2
	Stamped	1
	Coloured Glaze	3
Total		**225**

Another maker's mark can be read on two refitted white earthenware sherds #7419 and #7463. As seen in Figure 6.13, the mark reveals "…IRONSTONE CHINA. &Co Ld" and the image of a person on a horse. This item was made by Baker & Co. Ltd. at Fenton Potteries and this mark dates to c. 1893-1928 (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999:99). The other maker's mark is also on white earthenware and it reads "PAREEK/Johnson Bros/England" with the image of a crown in the centre.

Figure 6.13: Baker & Co. Ld. maker's mark.

Several different types of decorative methods are evident on the white earthenware fragments. Two are decorated by underglaze painting; one fragment has a blue line close to the rim, while the other displays a portion of a green and brown pattern, but is too small to decipher. The overglaze painted white earthenware fragment exhibits a single black line on the rim. There are a large number of fragments that have underglaze transfer prints. Many are too small to identify, while others can be linked to several patterns. These patterns include Willow (early and late versions), Rural Scenes, Honeysuckle, Ionian, B772, Two Temples II-variation Brosely,

Louis Quatorze border, Macaw/Pagoda border, Elcho, Thistle, B700, and Flower Vase. These fragments are all Spode/Copeland flowblue transfer prints and specific information for each pattern is listed in Table A.10 (see Figure 6.14 for examples of these patterns). The other identifiable pattern is Pareek, as stated above with reference to the maker's mark. Other unrecognizable or undistinguishable transfer-prints are green, black, pink/green, and pink.

Figure 6.14: Examples of Ceramic Transfer Prints: a) B772; b) Honeysuckle; c)Thistle; d) Pagoda.

The two overglaze printed, white earthenware fragments are both rim sherds. One has blue and green lines close to the edge and the other displays a black, brown, and orange pattern. There are four white earthenware fragments that have stamped designs. Two have a blue pattern, one has a burgundy line at the rim, and the fourth has a burgundy and dark green pattern. Finally, there is a flat fragment with a gilt band at the brink portion of the plate.

There are also several flat ceramic fragments that are a vitrified white earthenware type. One is plain and two exhibit moulded relief at the rim. Another fragment has a blue stamped image and the last three have a peach coloured glaze.

Out of the 136 hollowware fragments, 13 can be identified as cup fragments. Eleven fragments are porcelain and all exhibit some type of decorative method. The other two are white earthenware with plain decoration. The remaining 123 hollowware ceramic fragments are not identified to vessel type. Table 6.7, lists the hollowware ceramic fragments with regard to the waretype and decorative method.

Table 6.7
Hollowware Ceramic Fragments:
Waretype and Decorative Methods

Waretype	Decorative Method	Totals
Porcelain		
	Plain	4
	Overglaze Painted	1
	Underglaze Printed	1
	Overglaze Printed	14
White Earthenware		
	Plain	39
	Moulded Relief	2
	Underglaze Painted	2
	Overglaze Painted	1
	Underglaze Printed	54
	Stamped	5
	Guilded	2
Vitrified White Earthenware		
	Plain	6
	Moulded Relief	1
	Underglaze Printed	1
Redware		
	Coloured Glaze	3
Total		**136**

The collection contains 20 porcelain hollowware fragments, four of which are plain and have no decoration. The overglaze painted fragment exhibits a brown line at the rim, while the underglaze printed piece has a green and yellow pattern. There are 14 overglaze printed porcelain fragments with patterns in the following colour arrangements: brown/red, blue/green/brown, red/brown/green, red/brown/yellow, blue/green/brown, black, and brown/green. All of the fragments are too small to discern any pattern.

There are 105 white earthenware hollowware fragments, 39 of which are plain. One of these plain fragments is a base with a partial maker's mark "JOHNSON BROS…." Two white earthenware fragments have moulded lines. There are two pieces with underglaze painting; one with blue stripes and the other with a burgundy design. The one overglaze painted fragment has a single blue line at the rim.

Fifty-four of the white earthenware fragments have underglaze prints, many of which are recognizable Spode/Copeland patterns: Honeysuckle, Macaw/Pagoda border, B772 or B773, B770, and the Louis Quatorze border (see Table A.10 for more information on patterns). Other unidentifiable patterns have the following colour pallets: flowblue, brown, green/yellow, green, and pink/blue/green/yellow. Five white earthenware fragments have a stamped motif of pink

flowers with green leaves. All of these pieces fit together and there is even evidence of a mending hole. The remaining two white earthenware fragments are gilded with a thin gold line at the rim.

There are several vitrified white earthenware fragments, as well. Six are plain, one has a moulded decoration, and the other fragment has a green underglaze transfer print. The final three hollowware fragments are redware and are all decorated with a coloured glaze. Two fragments have a thick, black glaze and the third has a clear, green glaze.

The collection contains two handle fragments that are plain white earthenware (Table 6.8.) Both handles were uncovered in 39N6E at level 6 (25-30 cm BS), one in the SW quad and the other in the SE. Despite their proximity, they do not come from the same vessel. Artifact #8373 is complete and measures 41.3 x 26.3 x 9.5 mm. The other handle fragment is incomplete.

Table 6.8
Handle Ceramic Fragments:
Waretype and Decorative Methods

Waretype	Decorative Method	Total
White Earthenware		
	Plain	2

There are many ceramic fragments that could not be identified as either flatware or hollowware because of their small size; all of these 40 fragments are extremely tiny (see Table 6.9 for the breakdown of waretype and decorative methods.) The one porcelain fragment included in this group has overglaze printing in a green design.

The remaining fragments are white earthenware with a few different kinds of decorative methods. Twenty-seven are plain, three display moulded relief, and nine have underglaze transfer prints. All of these transfer prints are flowblue with one piece being identified as the B772 pattern.

Table 6.9
Unknown Ceramic Fragments:
Waretype and Decorative Methods

Waretype	Decorative Method	Totals
Porcelain		
	Overglaze Printed	1
White Earthenware		
	Plain	27
	Moulded Relief	3
	Underglaze Printed	9
Total		**40**

Only one ceramic fragment could be identified as part of a lid (Table 6.10.) This piece is white earthenware and can only be further described as having a flowblue underglaze transfer print.

Table 6.10
Lid Ceramic Fragments:
Waretype and Decorative Methods

Waretype	Decorative Method	Total
White Earthenware		
	Underglaze Printed	1

Housekeeping T&E

These are artifacts that were originally created to be used as implements or appliances in a cleaning or laundering activity (Chenhall 1978:164). One ferrous metal clothes pin spring was found in 42N2E, NE quadrant, level 3 (10-15 cm BS) and measures 27.9 x 14.6 mm. Four fragments of blue graniteware were uncovered together from one of the interment area excavations. The two larger ones measure 200 x 118 mm and 140.8 x 88.8 mm and may have been part of the side of a large basin. The other two are smaller and are both <78.2 x 28.4 mm in size. All four pieces were found in close proximity to one another and no others were recovered from this area.

Mechanical T&E

This group contains artifacts that were originally created to be used in the study, measurement or utilization of the static and dynamic properties of solids, liquids and gases. It includes general-purpose mechanical devices (Chenhall 1978:169). The four gears in the collection were all gathered from the northwest corner of the excavation. The first, from 42N2E, SW quadrant, level 5 (20-25 cm BS), measures 10.9 x 7.3 mm in size. Artifact #4487 was recovered from 42N3E, with no other provenience, and it is 19.1 mm in diameter and 3.4 mm thick. It also has a small hole in the centre. The third artifact in this group has a long slit in the centre of the wheel and measures 13.7 x 2.9 mm. This very thin and delicate artifact was collected from 43N3E, SE quadrant, level 3 (10-15 cm BS). The final gear, which is considerably larger than the rest, was found in 41N5E, SW quadrant, level 5 (20-25 cm BS) and

measures 44.3 x 6.1 mm. This artifact may be part of a watch. All of the gears are made of a ferrous metal.

Musical T&E, Unclassified

These items were used for mechanical, electronic and metal reed instruments and for all musical accessories (Chenhall 1978:198). There is one harmonica reed plate in this subcategory and it is made of a cuprous metal (see Figure 6.15). It was recovered from 39N6E, level 7 (30-35 mm BS) and is 87.4 x 29.8 x 1.7 mm in size.

Figure 6.15: Harmonica reed plate.

Textile Working T&E

These are artifacts originally created to be used in the manipulation of thread, yarn or cordage. It includes basket-making tools, sail-making tools, weaving tools and needle-working implements (Chenhall 1978:212). The collection includes 27 sewing needle fragments. Six of these were recovered from the top three levels of 37N2E, a unit located on the outside of the cabin. Three others are recorded as being found in 38N9E, levels five through seven. Unit 39N4E, in the area of the firebox, produced 10 needle fragments in levels two through four. The other sewing needles are each from a separate unit. Two safety pin fragments were found in 39N9E, one from level 3 (10-15 cm BS) and the other from level 4 (15-20 cm BS). Two other complete safety pins were recovered from 42N2E, NE quadrant, level 5 (20-25 cm BS) and 42N3E. They measure 49.5 mm and 25.2 mm in length, respectively. Two complete straight pins were collected from the site. One has a pink plastic head and the other black. The pink pin was recovered from 39N8E, NW quadrant, level 4 (15-20 cm BS) and measures 18.6 mm in length. The black pin, from 41N6E, SW quadrant, level 4 (15-20 cm BS), is 39.7 mm long.

There is also one crochet hook included in this subcategory. It is made of bone and is broken mid-way down the shaft at the bottom of a ribbed grip. The artifact (Figure 6.16) measures 65.7 x 3.87 mm and was located in unit 38N5E, SE quadrant, level 7 (30-35 cm BS) around the fireplace apron.

Figure 6.16: Crochet Hook.

Woodworking T&E

This is an artifact originally created to be used in the fabrication of objects out of wood (Chenhall 1978:222). Nails make up one of the largest artifact types in the assemblage (n=1421). The majority of the nails found at Stanley Mission are common wire nails, but there is also a considerable amount of machine cut nails (see Table 6.11 for quantities). Roofing, finishing, lath, and clout nails were collected as well. All complete nails were measured and their lengths range from 1-5 inches. Every excavated unit produced nails, with the largest quantity of 140 coming from unit 39N6E and the smallest amount (six) coming from 41N8E. The distribution of nails across the cabin will be addressed in the discussion section of this chapter.

Table 6.11
Nail Quantities

Type	Surface Find	Interment Excavation	Cabin Units	Totals
Clout	0	0	1	1
Lath	0	0	2	2
Finishing	0	0	7	7
Roofing	0	0	41	41
Machine Cut	1	14	251	266
Wire Drawn	0	2	1,106	1,108
Total	**1**	**16**	**1,408**	**1,425**

The Woodworking subcategory includes a wide variety of fasteners. Eight fence staples were recovered from the site, each measuring 1 inch in length. They were collected from across the site with three from 39N7E level 6 (25-30 cm BS). This collection of woodworking objects also contains ten spikes. These individual artifacts are listed in Table A.11 in Appendix A, along with their corresponding attributes. Attribute tables for eight screws and three corrugated fasteners are presented in Appendix A as well (Table A.12 and Table A.13). The excavation produced four tacks that are in relatively good condition, being complete and straight. They range in length from ½ to ¾ inch and were recovered from 42N3E, 43N3E, 37N2E, and 38N9E. One eye hook was located in 39N4E, NE quadrant, level 6 (25-30 cm BS). It is made of a ferrous metal and measures 37.4 x 10.6 mm and 2.1 mm thick. Two nuts were collected from the site; one from 39N9E and the other from 39N8E. The first, from level 3(10-15cmBS) and the SE quadrant, measures 12.1 mm wide and 5.7 mm thick. The second is from level 2 (5-10 cm BS), SE quadrant and measures 14.7 x 5.8 mm. Two bolts were found during the excavation, one from 38N8E and the other from 39N9E. The first bolt measures 3 ¾ in. The second bolt has a nut corroded onto the end and together measures 3 in. in length. One small washer concludes the list of fasteners and it was found in unit 38N9E measuring 17.5 x 0.5 mm in size.

The woodworking artifacts also include objects such as cutting implements and sharpening tools. A crooked knife blade, artifact #8396, was found in the cellar area in unit 39N6E, level 7 (30-35 cm BS). It measures 85 x 15 x 3 mm. An axe head was recovered from 40N5E, SW quadrant, level 4 (15-20 cm BS). It measures 160 x 90 x 40 mm (Figure 6.17).

These two types of tools were sharpened with files, three of which were found during the two field seasons. All files found are incomplete, single-cut, and heavily corroded. The file fragments were each collected from a different unit: 39N3E, 42N3E, and 41N3E.

Figure 6.17: Axe Head.

Unclassified T&E, General

This artifact category was originally created to be used in a variety of activities or in working with diverse materials (Chenhall 1978:236). Three artifact types are included in this subcategory: staple, clamp, and grommet. Three industrial size staples were collected from 39N3E, 36N8E, 41N3E. The largest staple measures 38.6 x 7.3 mm in size. The metal clamp is circular and held together with a small screw, which was corroded to the object. The clamp measures just 2 cm long and 1 cm wide and was collected from 41N3E level 2 (5-10 cm BS). A small grommet, measuring 12.5 x 1.5 mm, was recovered from 38N5E in level 7 (30-35 cm BS).

Unclassified T&E, Special

These artifacts were originally created to be used in such a specialized activity or with such a unique material that it cannot be accommodated within any other T&E classification (Chenhall 1978:237). Both of the artifacts discussed in this subcategory were surface finds that were collected from northeast of the excavation. The first is a large bolt that measures 350 x 45.2 mm and the second is a large crank. The crank is made of cast iron, is 210 x 37.4 mm in length and thickness. At the widest point, from crank shaft to end of the handle, it measures 98.4 mm.

6.4.5 Communication Artifacts

> "Artifacts originally created for the purpose of facilitating human communication" (Chenhall 1978:238).

Table 6.12
Communication Artifacts (all from Cabin Units)

Artifact Sub-category/Object	Totals
Sound Communication Equip	
Record Fragment	40
Written Communication Equip	
Slate Fragment	13
Staple	1
Paper Clip	1
Graphite Pencil Fragment	3
Slate Pencil Fragment	2
Totals	**60**

Sound Communications Equipment

These artifacts were originally created to amplify or store music, spoken words or other sounds that are meaningful for human communication (Chenhall 1978:241). The record fragments (n=40) found at the site were collected from several different units. The fragments are from 78 rpm records with grooves on one side except for one fragment with grooves on both sides. All pieces are black and made from a ceramic Bakelite type of material. There is no writing visible on any of the fragments and they are all smaller than 5 cm in size.

Written Communications Equipment

This artifact was originally created to facilitate communication between people by means of written documents (Chenhall 1978:244). Slate fragments (n=14), most likely from writing tablets, were found across the site. All pieces are fairly small in size. Artifacts #7508 and #7499 are each comprised of two separate pieces that fit together; their measurements reflect the entire size when joined. The locations of these fragments along with their measurements are listed in Table A.14 (see Appendix A). Children attending the mission school would have used the slate tablets and pencils for lessons. None of the fragments found in 2006/2007 have any markings. Two graphite pencil "lead" fragments were recovered from the site. They measure 6.8 mm and 12.5 mm long and are from units 39N4E and 42N2E respectively. Another pencil fragment, a ferrule, was recovered from unit 36N8E. Two small portions of slate pencils are from units 41N5E and 36N8E. At 4.4 mm, they are both the same thickness, but are 48.5 mm and 34 mm long, respectively. The excavation only produced one paperclip and it was located in 43N3E level 4 (15-20 cm BS). It is made of a ferrous metal and measures 33.4 x 9.1 mm in size. One staple was collected, this from 43N3E level 3 (10-15 cm BS).

6.4.6 Transportation Artifacts

> "Artifacts originally created as vehicles for the transporting of passengers or freight" (Chenhall 1978:246).

Table 6.13
Transportation Artifacts (from Cabin Unit)

Artifact Sub-category/Object	Totals
LTE, Animal Powered	
Harness Bell	1
Total	**1**

Land Transportation Equipment, Animal Powered

This category contains artifacts originally created to transport people or goods on land (Chenhall 1978:248). This subcategory contains one artifact, a round harness bell with a clapper inside and it is made from a ferrous metal. It measures 33.2 x 30.3 mm and was found within the upper 15 cm of unit 40N3E. An Elder recognized it as possibly being from a dog harness. The dog sled was a common form of transportation during the winter months in northern Saskatchewan. Both Keighley (1989) and Kemp (1957) describe travelling to traplines in the winter with the dog sleds stocked with store merchandise on the way out and furs on the way home.

6.4.7 Art Objects

> "Artifacts originally created for aesthetic purposes or as a demonstration of creative skill and dexterity; the essential ingredient is that the artifact was created for no apparent utilitarian purpose" (Chenhall 1978:265).

Table 6.14
Art Objects (all from Cabin Units)

Artifact Sub-category/Object	Totals
Commercial Decorative Art	
Christmas Tree Ornament	1
Figurine Fragment	1
Total	**2**

Commercial Decorative Art

This artifact was originally created in commercial quantities to serve primarily as non-utilitarian household decoration (Chenhall 1978:265). Table 6.14 lists the two artifacts that make up the entire Art Objects category. The small Christmas tree ornament is a round, plastic ball that is decorated to resemble a blown glass ornament. It is painted silver with a red indentation on one side. It measures 12.9x19.0 mm and was collected from 36N8E level 3(10-15cmBS). The second artifact is a porcelain fragment that depicts wavy hair and could possibly be from a female figurine. It is white with no finish and it is 21.0 x 22.4 mm and 3.2 mm thick. The fragment was found in unit 38N8E level 3(10-15 cm BS).

6.4.8 Recreational Artifacts

"Artifacts originally created to be used as toys or in carrying on the activities of sports, games, gambling or public entertainment" (Chenhall 267).

Table 6.15
Recreational Artifacts

Artifact Subcategory/Object	Surface Find	Interment Excavation	Cabin Units	Totals
Game				
Marble Fragment	1	0	2	3
Bone Cup	0	0	1	1
Bone Pin	0	0	1	1
Toy				
Figurine Fragment	0	0	4	4
Whistle	0	0	1	1
Spoon	0	0	1	1
Tea Cup Fragment	0	0	1	1
Doll Fragment	0	1	0	1
Totals	**1**	**1**	**12**	**14**

Game

This sub-category is composed of artifacts originally created to be used in a competitive activity based upon chance, problem-solving and calculation. It does not include objects used in games where physical effort is necessary or in games that are conducted according to rules. It also includes all forms of gambling devices (Chenhall 1978:267). The excavation produced three marble fragments. Two of these are glass fragments, which are green and brown, while the other marble is white ceramic. The green marble was a surface find, the brown was collected from 39N7E level 4 (15-20 cm BS), and the ceramic marble was from 37N2E level 3 (10-15 cm BS). The game subcategory also includes two shaped pieces of bone. These artifacts were not found together, but are elements of the same game. The cup is a phalanx from a large mammal that is shaped into a cone with a hole at either end. It was collected from 41N6E level 4 (15-20 cm BS) and measures 46 x 18 mm. The pin is a metapodial, also from a large mammal, that is sharpened at one end to form the "pin." This artifact was found in unit 40N5E level 5 (20-25 cm BS) and is 150 x 13 x 8 mm in size (Figure 6.18).

Toy

These are artifacts originally created to be a plaything. It may be representational or non-representational. A toy is created primarily to be played with or as a craft object for display

purposes (Chenhall 1978:274). This subcategory contains artifacts that can be associated with children. Four of these artifacts are from small, plastic figurines. Two of these fragments fit together and form a train engine. The pieces were both recovered from unit 38N9E, but one was located in level 1-2 (0-10 cm BS) and the other from level 3 (10-15 cm BS). These are of a hard, moulded plastic that is mostly green with swirls of pink. Together they are 47.4 x 15.9 mm in size. The remaining two figurine fragments are small action figures. One is a blue hockey player that is missing his head, left leg, and the end of his hockey stick (Figure 6.18). It was found in unit 43N3E level 3 (10-15 cm BS) and measures 53.9 x 43.2 x 7.5 mm in size. The second fragment is a green person without legs and is very chewed. It was from unit 41N3E level 2 (5-10 cm BS) and measures 22.1 x 13.0 x 4.1 mm. Both of these figures are made of a soft plastic. One doll fragment was found at one of the interment area excavations. It is a portion of a rubber doll and measures 121.3 x 58.9 mm. The doll's clothing – a white shirt and blue shorts – is painted on. Another small find was a whistle and it was found in 43N3E level 3 (10-15 cm BS). It is a flat, tin whistle that produces a two-tone sound. It measures 68.7 x 28.2 x 8.1 mm and can be seen in Figure 6.19. The remaining two children's toys are representative of a kitchen set. The other artifact is a teacup fragment and it is also from a set of toy dishes. It is white, undecorated porcelain and was found in unit 38N9E level 3 (10-15 cm BS).

Figure 6.18: Game artifacts: a) "Cup"; b) "Pin".

Figure 6.19: Toy artifacts: a) Hockey player figurine; b) Spoon; c) Whistle.

6.4.9 Societal Artifacts

> "Artifacts originally created to be used in carrying on governmental, fraternal, religious or other organized and sanctioned societal activities" (Chenhall 1978:278).

Table 6.16
Societal Artifacts (from Cabin Unit)

Artifact Subcategory/Object	Totals
Exchange Medium	
Coin	1
Total	**1**

Exchange Medium

This artifact was originally created to be used as a medium of exchange or as an instrument for obtaining specially-defined services (Chenhall 1978:281). There is one artifact in this category and it is a Canadian penny dated to 1966. It was found in unit 39N8E in level 2 (5-10 cm BS).

6.4.10 Packages and Containers

"Artifacts originally created to be used for packing and shipping goods and commodities, and containers for which a precise function cannot be determined" (Chenhall 1978:283).

Table 6.17
Packages and Containers

Artifact Subcategory/Object	Surface Find	Interment Excavation	Cabin Units	Totals
Product Package/Container				
Wrapper Fragment	0	0	24	24
Can Lid	0	0	5	5
Bottle Cap/Lid	0	0	6	6
Tube	0	0	1	1
Bottle Fragment	0	0	49	49
Can Fragment	0	0	3	3
Unclassified Package/Container				
Can Fragment	2	53	360	415
Bottle Cap/Lid	0	0	11	11
Foil Fragment	0	0	226	226
Pail Handle	0	0	4	4
Bottle Fragment	0	7	91	98
Strapping Fragment	0	0	64	64
Tin Can Key	0	0	16	16
Tube	0	0	1	1
Barrel Hoop	0	0	2	2
Fur Bale Seal	0	0	1	1
Wrapper Fragment	0	0	1	1
Pail	0	0	2	2
Pail Lug	0	0	1	1
Totals	**2**	**60**	**868**	**930**

Product Package/Container

These are artifacts originally created to be a container for a known product usually when it is offered for sale (Chenhall 1978:283). Several types of wrappers (n=23) were recovered from the excavation. Two plastic bag wrapper fragments were found in unit 36N8E level 2 (5-10 cm BS). Together, the fragments display the words "Jumbo BUNS" in red and were made by McGavin's. Six other plastic foil fragments are black and gold and were collected from unit 39N8E level 2 (5-10 cm BS). The packaging reads "McGregor Marvelsox;" it once contained socks. The remaining 15 wrapper fragments are aluminum "Fizzies" wrappers. Table A.15 (Appendix A) lists all of these fragments with their corresponding information and Figure 6.20 shows several examples. Fizzies were developed in the 1960s by the Emerson Drug Company

and became widely popular among children. The Fizzies tablet was to be dropped into a glass of water to release "its magical fizz, creating a perfectly sweet, effervescent, drink" (Fizzies 2006). The original flavours were grape, cherry, orange, punch, berry, lemon-lime, and root beer. According to Fizzies.com (2006), the colourful drink tablet is back on the market!

Figure 6.20: Fizzies Wrapper – orange flavour.

This collection contains four identifiable can lids. Two of the can lid fragments, artifacts #4426 and 4427, fit together to form the slip-on lid for a Magic Baking Powder can. The first fragment includes the letters "MA… BA… PO" and the second piece has the partial words "GIC… ING… DER… SOME." These two fragments were collected from 41N3E level 5 (20-25 cm BS). The third tin can lid is also a Magic Baking Powder slip-on lid and was found in unit 39N7E level 4(15-20cmBS). This complete lid reads "Full Weight / MAGIC BAKING POWDER / WHOLESOME / PURE" (see Figure 6.21). This round lid was found misshapen *in situ* and the widest point of measurement is 66.3 mm. Magic Baking Powder was first made in Canada in 1897 and is still available for purchase today. The packaging has changed from tin cans with slip-on lids to plastic containers with plug or threaded lids (Kraft Canada 2010 a).

A Keen's dry mustard slip-on tin can lid was recovered from 42N2E level 5 (20-25 cm BS). It is rectangular in shape and measures 64.0 x 43.3 mm in size. The top of the lid has a recessed panel that includes the embossed words "KEEN'S / D S F" as seen in Figure 6.21; the "D S F" stands for "double super fine." Keen's Mustard originated in England and has been sold since 1742 (Luscombe 2010).

Figure 6.21: Tin Can Lids a) Magic Baking Powder; b) Keen's Dry Mustard.

All four metal bottle lid fragments were found together in unit 38N5E level 1-2 (0-10 cm BS). The pieces belong to the same lid that, although heavily corroded, is white with blue writing. The identifiable letters are "…racle Whip" indicating it was a Miracle Whip jar lid. Miracle Whip was introduced in the early 1930s and is now sold by Kraft (Kraft Canada 2010 b).

A portion of an Ambroid Glue tube was located in unit 41N7E in level 2 (5-10 cm BS). The artifact measures 41.2 x 37.6 x 7.1 mm and is blue and orange in colour. The only legible writing that appears on the tube reads: "…for SPEED and STRENGTH / AMBROID…." Ambroid glue is a type of liquid cement that has a wide variety of uses, particularly for adhering wood, plastic, and metal, but, at Stanley Mission, it was most likely used to patch canvas covered canoes.

Several different types of bottles have been identified in the collection and these are represented by 50 fragments. Three fragments and one whole bottle are recognized as being Dr. Thomas' Eclectric Oil. The writing on all of these Eclectric Oil bottle artifacts is embossed and the glass is clear. The three fragments are panel pieces from the bottle body. Artifact #5791, found in unit 41N7E, level 3 (10-15 cm BS), includes the letters "…OMA…PRIE…" The

second fragment contains partial words "NO…LYM…TO…" and was found in unit 39N6E level 4 (15-20 cm BS). The third panel fragment reads "THO… PRO… MED…R…" and is from unit 40N3E level 1-3 (0-15 cm BS). The complete bottle recovered from unit 41N6E level 1-2 (0-10 cm BS) measures 128.6 x 48.8 x 23.9 mm and can be seen in Figure 6.22. The two large panels read: (front inset panel) "NORTHROP & / LYMAN CO.LIMITED / TORONTO, CANADA / 2 FL.OZS" and (back panel) "D^{R} S.N. THOMAS' / N^{o} 5520 THE PROPRIETARY / OR PATENT MEDICINE ACT / ECLECTRIC OIL." The two side panels each contain the words "INTERNAL" and "EXTERNAL" respectively. The base includes a sideways "5" and "N&L" and the mouth of the bottle is threaded to accept a screw-cap lid. This bottle was manufactured ca. 1920s (Fike 1987:110). The Northrop and Lyman company began as Tuttle, Moses & Northrop in New York. By 1862 the company was renamed Northrop & Lyman and then relocated to Toronto in 1874. The Northrop & Lyman bottles were embossed as early as the 1860s and did not include the word "LIMITED" until the 1920s, ceasing in the 1940s (Fike 1987:109-110).

A complete Coca-Cola bottle was found in unit 38N8E just under the surface. It measures 200 mm tall and is 60 mm wide at the base. The front of the bottle has embossed "NO DEPOSIT / Coca-Cola / TRADE MARK REG. / NOT TO BE REFILLED" and on the back is "NO RETURN / Coke / TRADEMARK REG. 10FL.OZS. / NOT TO BE REFILLED." The base includes "COCA-COLA LTD" and the other symbols indicate that it was made by Dominion Glass and was bottled in Redcliff, Alberta in March/April of 1964 from mould #3.

The final complete bottle is a small medicine bottle with a metal screw-cap corroded onto the finish. It was found in unit 36N8E in level 4 (15-20cmBS) and is 98.5 x 35.0 x 22.8 mm in size. The front of the bottle has two different embossed gradations, one on the left edge and one on the right edge. The left gradient has seven ticks with the numbers "6 / 4 / 2" going down. There is a large "3" to the left of the "6" on the very corner of the bottle. The right gradient has five marks with the numbers "20 / 10" going down. At the top of the body, still on the front, is a large "3" in the centre. The side panels are plain and the back panel contains a "14" centred at the bottom. The base includes either a "W" or an "M" inside a diamond. Although there is no additional writing to indicate a manufacturer or contents, it is highly possible that this held some type of medicine.

Figure 6.22: Dr. Thomas' Eclectric Oil Bottle.

The last group of clear bottle fragments were all found together and belong to the same Pepsi bottle. The base of the bottle is complete and several of the other fragments fit together to form the lower portion of the bottle. A few of the fragments also form part of the logo "Pepsi-Cola." The manufacturing information located on the base of the bottle indicates that it was made by Dominion Glass and bottled in Redcliff, Alberta in May/June of 1961 from mould #3659.

Three can fragments can also be identified. A partial rectangular tin can was found in unit 39N6E, just below the surface. It measures 123.6 x 43.3 x 87.1 mm. It is painted red, blue, and yellow and displays the brand name "KLIK" on the front side. Klik is a canned luncheon meat that is currently sold by Maple Leaf Foods. Artifact #7337 is a Blue Ribbon black pepper can that was found in unit 38N5E within levels 1-2 (0-10 cm BS). The fragment consists of the top, front, and partial sides of the rectangular can and measures 60.4 x 65.0 x 30.3 mm. The top panel has a red perforated tab that covers the opening. The body is coloured red, yellow, blue, and white. The legible writing reads "BLACK / PEPPER / …oz. net / POIVRE NOIR MOU… / Blue Ribbon." The final identifiable can was collected from unit 39N6E in level 3 (10-15 cm BS). It is circular with the top cut out and measures 125.2 mm in diameter and 69.6 mm tall. It is white with blue and red writing. Much of the can is corroded, but some words can be made out. To the left of the front label is a panel that reads "KEEP COLD / FROZEN / IF POSSIBLE / REG. NO. / 4061 / MANUFACTURED…" The front portion of the label displays "FIRST / GRADE / GLENDALE / BRAND / CREAMERY / BUTTER." This main part of the label can also partially be seen on the back. To the right of the front label is a small panel that explains

that “THE BUTTER IN THIS / AIRTIGHT TIN IS CHURNED FROM FRESH CREAM / GATHERED IN THE BEST / OF WESTERN CANADA’S / DAIRYING DISTRICTS. / SCIENTIFICALLY PASTUR- / IZED AND HANDLED WITH / THE UTMOST CARE TO / ENSURE …” Some of these identifiable cans are included in Figure 6.23.

Figure 6.23: Cans a) Blue Ribbon Pepper; b) Glendale Butter.

Unclassified Package/Container

This subcategory contains artifacts that were originally created as containers but their contents remain unknown (Chenhall 1978:283). The 416 tin can fragments display one or more attributes of a can, for example, a seam or a lid. Six different types of closures are represented: push-in, slip-on, hole-in-top, hole-and-top, and key-strips. Artifact # 8374 exhibits a hole-and-top seal, which is a type of closure without solder. This type of seal did not have a vent hole because the food inside the can had been considerably cooked beforehand or steamed once inside the can with the filler cap off. The cap was then crimped onto the can, sealing in the food. Two push-in can lid fragments have an embossed letter “C”. Sixteen tin can keys were uncovered during excavation. These keys were used to remove the lid from a tin can. By turning the key around the top lip of the can, it would remove a small band of metal from the can body. This coil of tin is still attached to five of the keys. The can keys range in length from 20-30 mm.

There were 13 bottle caps and lids found at the site. Although these lids and caps do not supply any product information, they do give some insight as to the type of bottle they were

from. Four lids are screw-caps and once fit onto a bottle with a threaded finish. Another four are traditional pop or beer bottle caps, all lacking writing. The remaining lids could be from a variety of bottles.

The excavation produced 226 foil fragments. In total, there are 176 fragments of aluminum foil and 50 of lead foil.

The excavation also produced four pail handles. Two were found in the same unit within the same level; artifacts #8830 and #8831 are from unit 39N6E level 5 (20-25 cm BS). They are likely from the same size pail as their measurements are quite similar: 143.3 x 4.2 mm and 140.0 x 3.0 mm respectively. Another pail handle, from unit 38N5E level 5 (20-25 cm BS), measures 155 x 4.1 mm. Finally, artifact #4488 is from unit 42N3E. It is larger than the other three, measuring 246 x 4.1 mm. All of these handles are made of ferrous metal. There is also one pail lug, made of ferrous metal and collected from 43N3E level 4 (15-20 cm BS). It measures 27.6 x 9.2 mm. There were also two small pails collected at the site. One pail that is mostly flattened was recovered from one of the interment excavations and measures 113.1 x 94.0 x 1.8 mm. It is completely corroded and does not display a label to indicate what may have originally been inside the container. The second pail does not have a bottom and is completely flattened. This corroded artifact was found in unit 38N5E in level 7 (30-35 cm BS), the hearth area of the fireplace. Its measurements are 200 x 141 x 7.0 mm.

All of the bottle fragments (n=98) found at the site are glass fragments that exhibit some kind of feature that can classify them as bottle glass. These attributes include seams, bases, finishes, embossing, corners, or shoulders. The majority of the fragments are clear and a few are brown, aqua, purple, and green. Two bases indicate manufacture by the Dominion Glass Co., with one having a diamond embossed in the centre and the other an Owen's suction scar. There is also one complete bottle with identifiable markings on the base. It is a small jar with a wider base and narrow neck, possibly a condiment container. The base information indicates that it is Consumers Glass from Etobicoke, Ontario and bottled in 1969 from mould number one. The base also exhibits the phrase "BOTTLE MADE IN CANADA." Several other fragments also have single embossed letters, but no information can be extracted from these pieces.

Metal strapping fragments (n=64) were collected from several units across the excavation area. These artifacts vary in widths and lengths. Some fragments include holes that were made

during manufacturing, while others have holes that were clearly made by a nail being forced through. A few of the pieces even have nails corroded onto the strip of metal.

Two complete keg hoops were recovered from the excavation. The larger hoop, found in unit 39N6E in level 7 (30-35 cm BS), is 230 mm in diameter. There are two rivets at the seam. The smaller hoop is about half the size of the former and is 155 mm in diameter. This artifact was retrieved from 37N2E in level 5 (20-25 cm BS) and it has just one rivet at the seam. Both keg hoops are made of ferrous metal and are very corroded.

The three remaining artifacts in this subcategory include one tube fragment, one fur bale seal, and one wrapper fragment. Their descriptions follow. The metal tube fragment, measuring 66.3 x 10.8 mm, is highly corroded, which contributes to the inability to read most of the product label. The only letters that are legible are "Ruik Marrers…" This fragment was collected from unit 43N3E level 4 (15-20 cm BS). One lead fur bale seal was found in unit 39N6E in level 7(30-35cmBS). There are no markings visible on either side of the artifact, as it is heavily corroded. The object is oval with a loop at the top and it measures 30.4 x 33.4 x 4.0 mm. The single wrapping fragment is made of a thin plastic that is white with brown writing. The label includes the letters "MADE IN U.S.A. … E UP W…" This artifact measures 20.7 x 57.4 x 2.5 mm and was from unit 38N9E in level 3 (10-15 cm BS).

6.4.11 Unclassifiable Artifacts

> "Artifacts originally created to serve a human purpose which cannot be identified at the time the object is catalogued" (Chenhall 1978:285).

Table 6.18
Unclassifiable Artifacts

Artifact Subcategory/Object	Surface Find	Interment Excavation	Cabin Units	Totals
Artifact Remnant				
Glass	0	6	521	527
Metal	0	0	465	465
Fabric	0	0	26	26
Rubber	0	0	59	59
Plastic	1	0	104	105
Styrofoam	0	0	1	1
Ceramic	0	0	1	1
Leather	0	0	2	2
Wood	0	0	1	1
Unknown	0	0	7	7
Function Unknown				

Metal Rod	0	0	2	2
Clasp	0	0	1	1
Eye	0	0	1	1
Handle Fragment	0	0	2	2
Metal Tube	0	0	1	1
Metal Ring w/cork screw	0	0	1	1
Metal Heart	0	0	3	3
Spring	0	0	6	6
Rivet	0	0	1	1
Shaped Bone Fragment	0	0	1	1
Metal Plate w/rivets	0	0	2	2
Cap	0	1	5	6
Metal Cup w/hole	0	0	1	1
Metal Threaded Tube	0	0	1	1
Metal Ring	0	0	1	1
Lock Part?	0	0	1	1
Lever Frag	0	0	1	1
Brass Loop	0	0	1	1
Totals	**1**	**7**	**1,219**	**1,227**

Artifact Remnant

These consist of a segment or incomplete part of an object originally created to fulfill some human function, which cannot be determined or even inferred from the fragment (Chenhall 1978:285). These unidentifiable artifacts are divided by material type as seen in Table 6.18 above. The 527 glass fragments are comprised of both flat and curved pieces that are represented by a wide variety of colours, which include green, light aqua, purple, brown, blue, clear, and black. There are also several fragments of milk glass in this unidentifiable assemblage. One hundred and thirteen of these glass fragments exhibit evidence of burning, which makes it difficult to identify whether each individual fragment was flat or curved in shape. The second largest material type grouping is metal. The metal artifacts include fragments that are made of aluminum, brass, copper, iron, lead, and tin. Most of these are strips or irregularly shaped pieces of metal, with some wire and rod fragments as well. The majority of the fabric fragments are a reddish-brown cotton weave with an oil coating. It resembles an oilcloth, but the fragments are very small and extremely fragile. The 59 rubber fragments are mostly black in colour with one green and two red pieces. They range in size, but are all less than 3 mm thick. The plastic fragments in this subcategory are highly variable with some being a hard moulded material, while others are thin and delicate. These artifacts are a variety of colours, such as,

pink, yellow, black, peach, blue, clear, green, red, white, and brown. Five fragments have visible writing: Artifact #6006 "in"; #6007 "…'s…d"; #4940 "ER JACK"; #5096 "G…IES LTD….C."; and #4810 "TRADE MARK." Styrofoam, ceramic, and wood materials are each represented by one artifact. The ceramic fragment is a hard porcelain object that is shaped like a comb tooth and the wooden artifact is a rectangular piece of raw lumber with a hole drilled in the centre. There are also two small leather fragments and seven that are of unidentifiable materials.

Function Unknown

This is an artifact originally created to be used for some unidentified human activity (Chenhall 1978:285). These are whole artifacts, but their original purpose and/or function cannot be identified. The artifacts in this subcategory are listed in Table 6.18 with their descriptions and locations following below.

There were two metal rods recovered from the site. The first rod was found in unit 39N3E level 3 (10-15 cm BS) and is made of copper. It is 29.3 mm long and 9.1 mm wide. The second rod is made of a ferrous metal and is flattened with a hole at each end. This rod measures 185.0 x 3.9 mm. There is also one very small clasp, which is a metal tube that fits around a cord or wire and is pinched together to secure. It is made of a non-ferrous metal and was found in unit 43N3E level 2 (5-10 cm BS). It measures 12.8 mm long and 2.5 mm wide. An eye was found in unit 42N3E and is basically a small metal ring, only 0.5 mm thick, with a short post. The width of the ring is 3.4 mm and the total length is 10.2 mm. There is one metal tube, possibly a lipstick cover, which is rounded and closed at one end. It measures 32.0 mm long and 13.4 mm wide. The artifact was found in unit 43N3E in level 3 (10-15 cm BS). Another metal object is a ring and corkscrew that form one continuous piece of wire measuring 1.6 mm thick. It was uncovered in unit 43N3E level 5 (20-25 cm BS) and is made of ferrous metal. The ring is 20.1 mm wide and the length of the ring and corkscrew together is 35.6 mm. The metal objects continue with finds such as small hearts, caps, tubes, and rings. Three small hearts are made of thin, ferrous metal. They were each found in a separate unit (39N7E, 39N8E, and 43N3E), the first being from level 9 (40-45 cm BS) and the last two from level 5 (20-25 cm BS). They are all 1.5 mm thick, 16.0 mm long, and 15.0 mm wide. There are two metal plates that are made of a ferrous metal and were found just below the surface within the first 10 cm. The first plate from unit 36N8E measures 24.0 x 13.6 x 0.5 mm and has three rivets. Artifact #7389 is larger, measuring 44.6 x 39.2 x 1.4 mm, and has only one rivet. Each of the six caps was found in a

separate unit (36N8E, 37N2E, 38N5E, 41N7E, 39N9E, and one of the interment excavations). The one from the interment area is made of lead and the others are a ferrous metal. They are all less than 30 mm wide and 30 mm tall. The metal cup is an artifact made of brass and was found in unit 39N6E in level 7 (30 25 cm BS). It measures 9.2 x 34.0 x 0.5 mm and has a small hole in the centre. These finds also include a metal tube that is 19.9 mm long and 14.8 mm wide. It is made of brass and threaded on the interior surface. It was collected from 39N6E level 7 (30-35 cm BS). A large iron ring was also found in unit 39N6E in level 7 (30-35 cm BS). It measures 37.6 x 6.6 mm and has no other distinguishing features. There is a brass loop that is open on one end and could possibly be used for attachment purposes. One explanation could be that it was a loop attached to the front of a canoe used to string rope through. It measures 77.1 x 22.6 x 3.5 mm and was found in unit 42N2E level 4 (15-20 cm BS).

There are several artifacts that can be identified further than just a description, but their function is still unknown. Two of these artifacts are handle fragments and both are made of ferrous metal. The larger handle, found in unit 39N8E in level 4 (15-20 cm BS), is 71.1 x 14.3 x 5.3 mm in size. The second handle is from 39N7E, level 4 (15-20 cm BS), and is only 56.2 mm long, 6.1 mm high, and 1.9 mm thick. These handles may be from some kind of furniture or piece of machinery. There were also six fragments of rectangular shaped springs found in 42N2E and 41N7E both in level 3 (10-15 cm BS). The wire is very thin, only 0.8 mm in diameter. They are all 11.7 mm wide, but vary in lengths. A rivet was recovered from unit 36N8E in level 4 (15-20 cm BS). It is made of ferrous metal and is comprised of a post with a disk at one end. The artifact is 12.2 mm long and 9.6 mm wide. Another artifact could possibly be identified as a lock part. This artifact is rectangular in shape and made of a ferrous metal. It has a small hole on one side and measures 45.0 x 18.7 x 4.8 mm. It was collected from 39N9E in level 3 (10-15 cm BS). There is also a portion of some type of lever. It is made of a ferrous metal and measures 64.2 x 11.2 mm. The lever was from unit 39N7E level 4 (15-20 cm BS). Finally, this subcategory includes a shaped bone artifact that was found in unit 41N8E at approximately 28 cm BS. It measures 143.5 x 14.6 x 8.2 mm with both ends carved to form a point.

6.4.12 Faunal and Floral Summary

The Nomenclature cataloguing system (Chenhall 1978) does not provide for the categorization of any animal or plant remains and recommends to classify these types of materials using a well-known or internationally recognized categorization scheme. Thus, the faunal and floral remains in this assemblage will be analysed and catalogued using the biological classification system of taxonomic rank.

The total number of specimens catalogued in this assemblage is 5,131, which includes identifiable and unidentifiable species of mammals, birds, fish, plants, shells, snails, and pupas (see Table 6.19). The identifiable specimens – anything that could be identified beyond "unknown" – encompass 62.7% of the entire faunal collection. This calculation includes 1,991 fish scales and makes the percentage quite high in comparison to the overall state of the assemblage. The exclusion of fish scales reduces the percentage of identifiable specimens to 25.9%, which creates a more accurate portrayal of the fragmented condition of the remains. The majority of the "unknown" specimens have been placed in Unknown Mammal, Unknown Bird, Mammal/Bird, Unknown Fish, or Unknown Seed. Only four have been labelled as completely unidentifiable. The assemblage comprises mostly fragmented specimens with the large part of all complete elements coming from SC2-SC3 in both mammals and birds (see Table 6.20 for size classes).

Table 6.19
Summary of Assemblage by Taxa (No Surface Finds)

Common Name	Taxon	Interment Excavation	Cabin Units	NISP	MNI
Mammals					
Moose	*Alces alces*	2	10	12	2
Possible Moose	*Alces alces* ?	0	0	3	-
Moose/Cow	*Bison/Bos*	0	0	1	-
Moose/Deer	Cervid indeterminate	1	1	2	-
Caribou/Moose	Cervid indeterminate	0	0	1	-
White-tailed Deer	*Odocoileus virginianus*	0	0	6	1
Deer/Caribou	Cervid indeterminate	0	0	16	-
Caribou	*Rangifer tarandus*	0	0	4	1
Possible Caribou	*Rangifer tarandus* ?	0	0	3	-
Artiodactyl	Artiodactyl (SC5)	0	0	7	-
Artiodactyl	Artiodactyl (SC6)	0	0	1	-
Woodchuck	*Marmota monax*	0	0	1	1
Possible Woodchuck	*Marmota monax* ?	0	0	1	-
Porcupine (N. American)	*Erethizon dorsatum*	0	0	4	1
American Martin	*Martes americana*	0	0	1	1
Muskrat	*Ondatra zibethicus*	0	0	11	2

Beaver (American)	*Castor canadensis*	0	0	16	3
Snowshoe Hare	*Lepus americanus*	0	0	206	16
Black Bear (American)	*Ursus americanus*	0	0	12	1
Red Fox	*Vulpes vulpes*	0	0	2	1
Dog/Wolf	*Canis sp.* (SC4)	0	0	3	-
Dog/Wolf	*Canis sp.* (SC4-5)	1	5	6	-
Fox/Coyote	*Canis sp.* (SC3-4)	0	0	1	-
Possible Canid	*Canis sp.* ?	0	0	1	-
Rodent	*Rodentia* (SC2)	0	0	3	-
Rodent	*Rodentia* (SC3)	0	0	1	-
Very Large Mammal	Mammal (SC6)	0	0	5	-
Large-Very Large Mammal	Mammal (SC5-6)	0	0	49	-
Large Mammal	Mammal (SC5)	10	127	137	-
Medium-Large Mammal	Mammal (SC4-5)	0	0	60	-
Medium Mammal	Mammal (SC4)	0	0	65	-
Small-Large Mammal	Mammal (SC2-SC5)	0	0	30	-
Small-Medium Mammal	Mammal (SC3)	0	0	81	-
Small Mammal	Mammal (SC2)	0	0	83	-
Micro Mammal	Mammal (SC1)	0	0	3	-
Unknown Mammal	Mammal Unknown	0	0	416	-
Mammal/Bird	Mammalia/Aves	23	269	292	-
Birds					
Pintail (Northern)	*Anas acuta*	0	0	3	-
Mallard	*Anas platyrhynchos*	0	0	11	2
Teal Indeterminate	*Anas sp.*	0	0	5	-
Duck Indeterminate	*Anas sp.*	0	0	19	-
Ducks and Allies	Anatidae (SC3)	0	0	2	-
Merganser	Mergini (SC3)	0	0	1	-
Ruffed Grouse	*Bonasa umbella*	0	0	2	-
Common Golden Eye	*Bucephala clangula*	0	0	11	3
Franklin's Gull	*Larus pipixcan*	0	0	2	-
Small Bird	Aves (SC2)	0	0	14	-
Medium Bird	Aves (SC3)	0	0	60	-
Medium-Large Bird	Aves (SC3-4)	0	0	1	-
Large Bird	Aves (SC4)	0	0	1	-
Unknown Bird	Aves Unknown	0	0	137	-
Fish					
Common Sucker	*Catostomus commersoni*	0	0	3	-
Longnose Sucker	*Catostomus catostomus*	0	0	76	4
White Fish (Lake)	*Coregonus clupeaformis*	0	0	3	-
Northern Pike	*Esox Lucius*	0	0	27	6
Walleye	*Stizostedion vitreum*	0	0	49	5
Unknown Fish	Osteichthyes Unknown (incl. 1991 scales)	0	0	3151	-
Plants					
Birch Bark	*Betula sp.*	0	0	2	-
Chokecherry Seed	*Prunus virginiana*	0	0	254	254
Possible Apricot/Plum Seed	*Prunus sp.*	0	0	11	-
Possible Cherry Seed	*Prunus sp.*	0	0	5	-
Jackpine Seed	*Pinus banksiana*	0	0	6	-
Unknown Seed	Unknown	0	0	7	-
Pupas					
Unknown Arthropod	Arthropoda Unknown	0	0	1	1

Snails					
Unknown Gastropod	Gastropoda Unknown	0	0	1	1
Clams					
Unknown Shell	???	0	0	1	1
Unknown	Unknown Faunal	0	0	4	-

Table 6.20
Description of Mammalian and Avian Size Classes

Size Class	Associated Terminology	Examples
SC6	Very Large Mammal	Moose, Elk, Bison, Horse
SC5	Large Mammal	Caribou, Deer, Wolf, Bear
SC4	Medium Mammal	Coyote, Beaver
SC3	Small-Medium Mammal	Hares, Fox, Marten
SC2	Small Mammal	Squirrels, Muskrats
SC1	Micro Mammal	Mice, Voles
SC5	Very Large Bird	Swan, Eagle, Crane
SC4	Large Bird	Geese, Raven
SC3	Medium Bird	Ducks, Mergansers
SC2	Small Bird	Robin, Blackbirds
SC1	Micro Bird	Warblers

Summary of Identified Taxa: Faunal

At least 26 animal and plant species have been identified in this assemblage. In regard to the faunal material, the snowshoe hare elements accounted for the highest number of specimens identified, followed by longnose sucker, walleye, and northern pike. Figure 6.24 shows examples of hare and fish material. The other mammals and birds are represented by lower numbers of specimens, but the majority of the assemblage is made up of fragments that were catalogued by level of size and as unidentifiable mammals or birds.

Immature elements in the assemblage have also been documented. Fifty-five specimens have unfused epiphyses, including some identifiable species: seven beaver elements, one muskrat specimen, seven snowshoe hare fragments, ten deer/caribou phalanges and vertebrae, one black bear metatarsal, two medium mammal fragments, 11 small mammal specimens, 13 small-medium-sized mammal specimens, one large mammal proximal femur fragment, and two medium bird elements. Figure 6.25 displays the unfused innominate elements of *Castor canadensis*.

Summary of Identified Taxa: Flora

There are 285 objects categorized as floral material comprised of bark fragments and seeds. The identified species are listed in the table above. The plant material was obtained

through dry screening on-site and it is highly probably that more floral remains could be recovered through wet screening.

Figure 6.24: Faunal Remains of Snowshoe Hare and Fish: a) Rabbit dentaries; b) Walleye articular, opercular, and premaxilla.

Figure 6.25: Immature Elements of *Castor canadensis* : Unfused beaver innominate – illium, ischium, and pubis.

Calculation of MNI:

Determining the minimum number of elements (MNE) can provide a more accurate measure of the minimum number of individuals (MNI) in the presence of a large number of identified specimens. As a result, MNI was calculated for the most common species in the assemblage (See Table A.16 in Appendix A). MNE was determined using the presence or absence of identifiable bone landmarks on the number of identifiable specimens (NISP). It is to be noted that axial elements were included as part of the MNE (indeterminate) and that the size of each element was not taken into account.

Bone Modification

This section outlines various categories of bone modification that have been identified within this collection. Taking into account these modifications, along with the highly fragmented condition of the assemblage, it became quite difficult to identify many of the ecofacts.

Degree of Burning: The degree of burning was recorded for each specimen and labelled as unburned, charred, burned, or calcined. Figure 6.26 illustrates the amount of specimens that exhibit evidence of burning. Out of these specimens only one could be identified as *Lepus americanus*, the remaining 292 are unidentifiable. Burned bones were collected from across the site and from almost every unit, but there was one small concentration of calcined fragments found in unit 39N6E in the SW quad of level 3 (10-15 cm BS). Several more were found just below in level 4 (15-20 cm BS) of the same quadrant. This specific location appeared to have been the site of a localized fire, possibly used for burning refuse since it also contained a large number of burned nails.

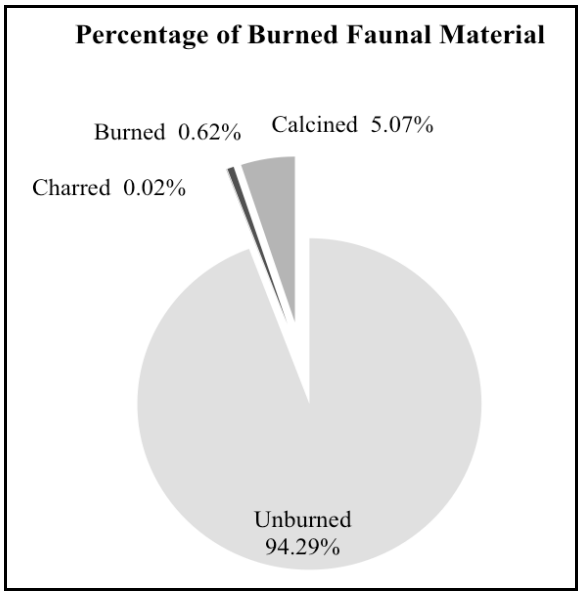

Figure 6.26: Chart illustrating the percentage of burned faunal material.

Flaking and Worn Surfaces: Seven bone fragments display surface flaking: the first phalanx of an artiodactyl, long bone shaft of a large mammal, phalanx of a possible Caribou, distal metatarsal of a Caribou, long bone shaft of a medium mammal, metatarsal shaft of a moose, and a long bone shaft of a very large mammal. Twenty-four elements are labelled as

being worn or very worn, but do not focus on a specific type of animal. The worn bone fragments are represented by all sizes of mammals and birds.

Fracture patterns: Two specimens have been identified as having a spiral fracture and both are unidentifiable large mammal long bone shaft fragments. Trauma has affected 13 bone fragments with most of these being linked to shovel trauma created during excavation. Three of the specimens with trauma evidence also exhibit signs of gnawing.

Toothmarks: Toothmarks and gnawing can be seen on 33 fragments, all of which are on medium to very large mammal limb elements. Four of these specimens have been specifically identified as having carnivore tooth puncture marks. The toothmarks are concentrated on the proximal and distal ends of limb fragments.

Cutmarks: There are 18 faunal fragments in the assemblage that exhibit one or more cutmark(s) and seven specimens have been cut by a saw (see Table 6.21). Most of the cutmarks occur on limb or rib fragments. As indicated in the table, many of the cutmarks on rib shafts are also associated with fractures, suggesting the use of a heavy cutting implement such as an axe or cleaver. The saw marks expose a significant trend in butchering. Five vertebrae from an immature Deer/Caribou (very likely the same animal) have been cut directly in half and these fragments are the right halves of the atlas, three cervical, and one thoracic vertebrae. These saw marks indicate that the animal was divided through the vertebral spine. Figure 6.27 includes examples of cutmarks.

Table 6.21

Summary of Cutmarks in Faunal Assemblage

	# of Specimens
One to Two Cutmarks	
Lg Mammal long bone shaft	2
Lg Mammal rib shaft	1
Deer femur shaft	1
Lg Mammal coranoid process	1
Lg Mammal metapodial shaft	1
Lg-V Lg Mammal long bone shaft	1
Caribou/Moose premaxilla	1
Moose metatarsal	1
Med Mammal rib shaft (associated with breakage)	1
Three or More Cutmarks	
Lg Mammal rib shaft	2

Lg Mammal long bone shaft	1
Lg Mammal thoracic vertebra spinous process	1
Lg-V Lg Mammal rib shaft (associated with breakage)	3
Beaver proximal femur	1
Cut with Saw	
Deer/Caribou atlas (cut in half)	1
Deer/Caribou cervical vertebrae (cut in half)	3
Deer Caribou thoracic vertebrae (cut in half)	1
Possible Moose ilium portion of acetabulum and neck	1
Med Mammal cervical vertebrae	1
Total Specimens	25

Figure 6.27: Examples of Cutmarks: a) Deer/Caribou thoracic vertebra cut in half; b) Moose illium sawed.

6.4.13 Material Culture Summary

This chapter has mostly been devoted to the descriptions of the artifacts, faunal, and floral materials found at the Stanley Mission Old Village site. This assemblage comprises of artifacts from all of the categories in the "Nomenclature for Museum Cataloguing" system (Chenhall 1978). There are personal and decorative items such as beads, buttons, pipes, and footwear fragments. Ceramic and cutlery artifacts emphasize the utilitarian component of the collection. There are also identifiable and unidentifiable food containers that suggest the types of products purchased for consumption from the trading posts. Other artifacts such as the

harmonica reed plate, gaming pieces, the crochet hook, and small toys can be associated with hobbies and entertainment activities. Finally, the faunal and floral specimens shed light on the procurement of local foods. The following section will explore the interpretation and significance of these objects.

6.5 Discussion

As mentioned prior to the artifact descriptions, many abandonment events have occurred at the Stanley Mission Old Village site. Account was taken of these processes in the course of both analysing and interpreting what was found during the excavation seasons, and particularly in the context of the cabin of focus. The seasonal abandonments that probably happened more than once a year resulted in various items being left behind at the cabin. These were planned departures with the occupants intending to return later in the year or the following spring, and because of this, larger pieces of furniture such as beds and tables would have remained in the cabin. Besides these more permanent pieces of furniture, anything else left behind could have been viewed as unimportant or refuse material. These items may have been broken, i.e. dishes or bottles, or exhausted items such as tin cans and pipe fragments. Finally, there was a permanent abandonment of the site, gradually occurring over time as families relocated to the south side of the river where the government had established the reserve. All objects that were of value or were to be used in the new house were removed during this process. At this point, the only items left behind could be labelled as refuse, as they were deemed insignificant or useless. Even these objects may have been scavenged by other people. Due to the unknown lifespan of the house, it was difficult to predict whether the excavation would yield a large or small number of artifacts. However, the assemblage was expected to be made up of objects regarded as refuse and, because of this, the fragmented nature of the collection was no surprise.

One of the original goals of this thesis project was to analyze the artifacts in order to gain a better understanding about the different activities that occurred inside the dwelling and the surrounding area. It was also proposed that specific activity areas could be identified on the basis of artifact distributions. However, the research goals changed during the two field seasons and instead became preoccupied with the cabin itself in terms of size, construction technique, layout, orientation within the village, and its inhabitants. Not only do several units within the cabin remain unexcavated, but excavation covered only a few units outside the structure,

undertaken principally to determine the size of the structure. Moreover, the material from the 2001 excavation of five units was not included in this analysis. As previously stated, the focus of the excavation shifted to concentrating on the cabin and these distribution patterns are useful for trying to determine where refuse areas are located, the amount of disturbance above and below the floorboards, and what might have happened to the cabin after it had been abandoned. This discussion will also flow into Chapter 7, which considers the structural remains and the construction and destruction of the cabin. The artifact distributions discussed below are also useful for examining activities that may have been part of daily life.

There are a few reasons why it may be difficult to detect areas designated for specific activities. First, the cabin is most likely a single room structure similar to the buildings described by the Elders (see Chapter 5); however, not all of the cabin has been excavated and, therefore, there might be evidence of room divisions that are not yet uncovered. The interior space may have served a variety of tasks, such as sleeping and cooking. Also, as seen from historic photographs, the living space was not just confined to the inside of the cabin, but extended to the surrounding area. Second, most of the assemblage consists of small, fragmented objects and therefore, the distributions may reflect discard behaviour or the deposition process as opposed to storage or activity areas. Refuse artifacts could have been swept outside, fallen between the floorboards, or even stashed in the cellar. Even when faced with these problems, the distributions proved to be informative by highlighting a few significant concentrations.

First, a note on the organization of this discussion. As pointed out previously in this chapter, the artifacts are categorized based on the Nomenclature classification system. This cataloguing system does not include categories that take into account aboriginal artifacts or any biological materials that are part of the collection. This scheme may be useful for museum purposes, but traditionally, historical archaeologists base their cataloguing systems on functional groups, which are often derived from or based on Sprague's "A Functional Classification for Artifacts from 19th and 20th Century Historical Sites" (Sprague 1981). Therefore, the remainder of this chapter will be organized based on the functional connections and spatial distributions amongst the material culture, including the artifacts and the faunal and floral specimens.

The artifact interpretations are organized according to functional groups starting with Personal Items and followed by Recreational Items, Educational Items, Religious Items, Architectural Items, Household Items, and Animal Procurement. Within these groups there is

sometimes more emphasis placed on certain types of artifacts than others and this is for a few different reasons. Some artifact types can provide additional information such as date and location of manufacture, for example, ammunition or ceramics with their associated patterns. Ceramics also represent a type of artifact that makes up a significant portion of the assemblage. These kinds of artifacts, also including nails, packaging and container fragments, beads, and faunal material, are useful for identifying distribution patterns across the excavation block. Other artifacts, such as sewing needles and pipe stem fragments, were few in number, but did produce distributions that suggest disposal patterns or evidence of ground disturbance. Other artifacts are mentioned and discussed at length because they can be linked to archival photographs, household activities, life at the Old Village, and Cree ethnicity. These include artifacts such as the ring and pin game, beads, pipes, toys, slate fragments, and the Christmas decoration.

Personal Items

Beads are a dominant artifact type found at Stanley Mission. Beads would have been purchased by the skein through the trading posts at Stanley Mission and used to embellish clothing such as moccasins, mittens, and jackets. The art of beading, usually performed by women, involved many colours of beads used together in intricate patterns to create geometric and floral images. This collection is represented by 27 colours and multiple variations of size, shape, and clarity. The most numerous bead colours are ruby, oyster white, redwood, white, scarlet, and robin's egg blue, ranging from 150 to 74 (listed in decreasing order). Then there is a significant drop in the numbers with emerald green accounting for only 39 beads and the following three colours to round out the top ten are different shades of blue. In short, there are higher numbers of red, white, blue, and green beads. Although this ranking may be purely coincidental, it could be representative of a preference towards using these specific colours; the colours could be culturally significant to the local Cree people.

The majority of the beads recovered are seed beads, measuring 2 mm or smaller in size. Due to their small size, seed beads could have been easily lost in the course of a sewing project, being accidentally dropped or spilt from a storage container. Beads could also be present in the archaeological record because they were attached to discarded pieces of clothing. This last possibility could very likely explain a portion of the bead distribution.

Beads were be found in almost all of the units at the site, but there does appear to be one concentrated distribution pattern. Figure 6.28 displays the bead frequencies in the units where beads were present. The four units with the highest number of beads are 36N6E, 38N9E, 39N9E, and 43N3E. These units are all at the perimeter of the excavation and either include the cabin wall or are located just to the outside.

The two units east of the doorway yield the highest number of beads and because of this a sample (about a shovel-full) was taken from unit 39N9E to be wet-screened during excavation. Many of the beads recovered using this method were clear with a coloured centre, a bead type that had not been collected from the other units. The wet-screening was utilized for two reasons. One, the screening in the field was taking quite a bit of time and we could tell that there were many beads still to be collected and two, we wanted to see how many more of the clear coloured beads we would be able to see if the matrix was wet-screened. It can be projected that if additional wet-screening was done in these two units, or others that produced beads, a higher number of transparent beads and other colours would have been collected.

A significant group of artifacts was also found within unit 39N9E. In level 4 (15-20 cm BS), SW quadrant, several rows of beads in a pattern were uncovered. These were conserved in the field as best as possible by covering the beads in wax and removing the soil below as well. Just above these beads was a fine, light brown fibrous layer. This was most likely the remnants of a piece of leather (possibly, clothing) to which the beads had been attached. This suggests that a piece of clothing had been situated in this area just outside the doorway. Another artifact that was associated with this large concentration of beads is part of a birch bark basket. This artifact fragment was recovered from the same level and quadrant as the beads in a pattern. The basket may have been used as a storage container for the beads or other sewing equipment. The basket could have spilled its contents or broke in this location, causing the high concentration of beads. The bead count becomes even higher including the 123 beads in the adjacent unit (38N9E).

Unit 43N3E also yielded 117 beads and is the unit with the third highest number of beads. This unit produced a large number of artifacts in general (third highest overall) and this may be because it is located outside of the cabin. This area is towards the back of the house and may have been a garbage dump and it is important to note that the unit is about 50 cm south of a small depression. Also, unit 43N3E encompasses a small knoll in the SW quadrant that is 10-15

cm higher than the rest of the unit and extends into unit 42N2E (a unit that produced a comparable amount of artifacts), which may be evidence of a refuse area as well.

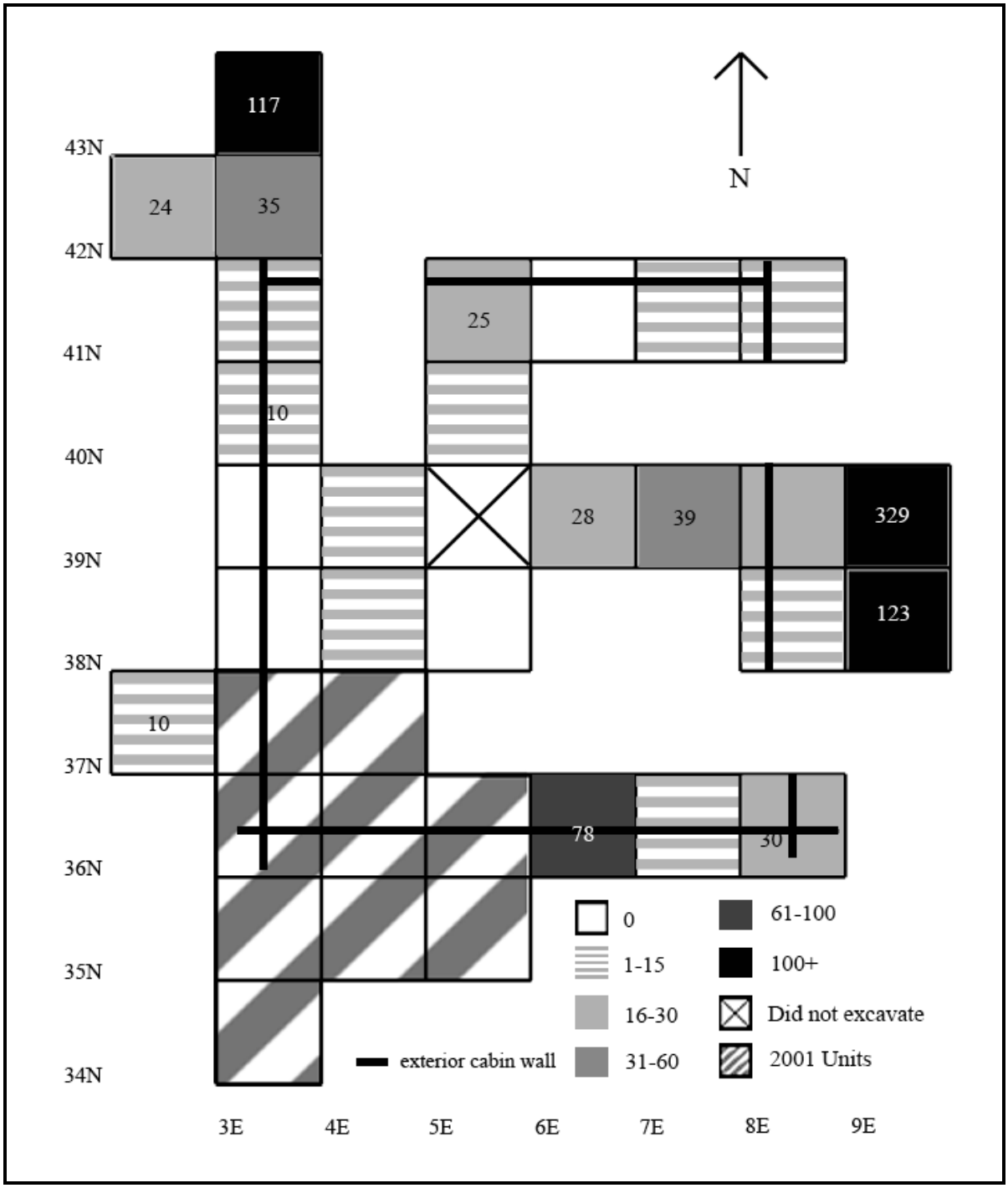

Figure 6.28: Bead distribution map for the cabin excavation at the Stanley Mission Old Village site. Units with the highest counts of beads are indicated by number.

Another high concentration of beads (n=78) is located in unit 36N6E and this makes up over half of the total artifact count. The cabin wall runs east-west through the centre of the unit, exposing both interior and exterior space. The majority of the beads were collected from the northern quadrants in levels 4-5 (15-25 cm BS). This could be explained as an accidental spill or that beads may have been stored in this location. There were no floorboards present on the interior side of the wall log and therefore, the beads may have fallen through the spaces in between the planks.

These three concentrations are all located outside or along the cabin wall. Despite the confident explanation for the concentration outside the doorway, there are not clear reasons for the high numbers of beads in the other two areas. The cellar area, a more obvious "artifact trap," had a relatively low number of beads. Areas around the cabin may act as traps in other ways. The unit close to the back of the cabin, 43N3E, as discussed previously, may have been a garbage area simply because it was out of view and hidden. The bead concentration located at the centre of the south wall, unit 36N6E, may have been where beads were swept towards the outskirts of the cabin's living space.

The Personal Artifacts category includes other items such as clothing, footwear, and accessories. These objects, as the category title implies, are personal belongings that are important to the people that own them. They also reflect *who* may have owned them and their tastes or likes. The four charms uncovered at the cabin may have belonged to women and children. The plastic blimp and green lion trinkets suggest that children wore these items, while the peapod-shaped pin with rhinestones and the round charm with inset glass are more feminine items of adornment. There are a variety of buttons, as well as hooks, eyelets, snaps, and buckles, within the collection that could have been used on many different types of clothing and personal accessories. Some of the buttons appear to be more feminine with floral designs or pink edging, but could very likely have been sewn onto anyone's clothing or used for decoration. There are also larger metal buttons that were originally used for suspenders or overalls. The use of suspenders was also evident by a number of slides and clasps. Although it is difficult to say who might have used the buttons, smoking pipes can be attributed to both male and female activities.

Recreational Items

Clay pipes are commonly occurring artifacts at historic archaeological sites. The Stanley Mission Old Village site lives up to this expectation with nine ball clay pipe stem fragments

being recovered as well as a portion of a wooden and vulcanite pipe. Although no additional information in terms of manufacturers could be obtained from these pieces, it can be confirmed that the trading posts at Stanley Mission sold an abundance of pipes to the local population. Keighley noted that the HBC store at Stanley Mission stocked and sold pipes, but did not mention what types (Keighley 1989:83). Smoking is usually seen as a men's activity in non-native society, but at Stanley Mission the women smoked pipes as well. Figure 6.29 shows two women each smoking a large pipe; these are similar to the two-unit composite pipe found in unit 42N2E (see Appendix A for further details). All of the pipe fragments were located outside of the cabin, except for one and this was found in the cellar. Three are from the front porch area where they may have been tossed outside. The others were found along the perimeter of the cabin close to the walls, but always in a quadrant exterior to the structure. Their locations might be where they were broken and thus, illuminating the deposition process. Although these pipe fragments are listed as personal artifacts, they also represent socializing and leisure activities for the adults.

Figure 6.29: Women and children of Stanley Mission with church in background, ca. 1919. Note the two women in front smoking pipes (Photo size modified by author) (Photo used with permission of Saskatchewan Archives Board).

Items related to music include a number of record fragments and a harmonica reed plate. Keighley (1989) mentioned several times that dances were held in the schoolhouse or in someone's cabin and that they would last late into the night. The Elders also noted that these dances were regular social gatherings in the village. Even today, square-dancing and fiddling are popular at Stanley Mission.

Other items related to leisure are listed in the Recreational Artifacts category. Some of these artifacts reflect the children of the Stanley Mission Old Village, their toys and games, and their forms of entertainment. During the summer and holiday times there would be many children at the village. The mission school was not in operation as a school house for the majority of the year and so the children spent most of their days playing. Some of their toys include the plastic figurines and toy whistle. There are also two objects from toy kitchen sets with which young girls would have played. Some of these artifacts were used in group socializing activities such as marbles and the ring and pin game.

The ring and pin game is a popular pastime that can be seen in many indigenous cultural groups across North America in one form or another (Culin 1992:527-528). The game pieces consist of a "pin" connected to one end of a string, several "cups" threaded onto the string, and a "ring" attached at the opposite end. The "pin" is commonly a wire needle, but was originally made of bone or wood. The "pin" found at the Stanley Mission Old Village is a sharpened metapodial of a large mammal, possibly a deer or moose. The "cups" are deer or moose phalanges that have been hollowed out and shaped into a cone. The cones themselves can have decorative features, such as being painted different colours or having transverse holes and incising. These additions are connected to a point system with various colours, holes, and lines representing the count. A "cup" found at the Cater site in Michigan had short parallel incised lines located near the base of the cone indicating the points awarded if the "pin" entered one of the small holes on the side (Frurip 2001:67). The number of "cups" is also variable, ranging anywhere from three to nine. A constant feature of this game is the "ring" that is usually made of a piece of leather perforated with holes, which vary in number and size (Culin 1992:528). There are a number of objects that can be used as the "ring" such as salmon bones, pumpkin rinds, rodent skulls, seal bones, and bundles of pine twigs; the material of this target depends upon the particular cultural group (Culin 1992:528).

The scoring of the game is decided upon by the person who made the game and by the people playing it. Different counts are attributed to certain "cups" along the string and holes in the "ring." The total count of the game also varies and can be as high as 2000. The game can be played by both adults and children, usually two at a time. The following is a description of a Cree variation of the cup and pin game and the information was collected by Mr. Phillip Towne:

> The object of the game is to catch one or more of the bone cups on the point of the bodkin ["pin"] or to thrust the bodkin into a hole in the buckskin thong ["ring"]. The game is of 50 points, which may be made as follows: One for each bone cup or hole, except the two center holes in the buckskin thong, which count 20. To cause the bodkin to enter one of the four small holes in the last bone cup is equivalent to game [Culin 1992:535].

Culin links two Cree names to games found in Saskatchewan. A game from Oxbow, Saskatchewan was labelled *Tapa whan* and another from Qu'appelle, Assiniboia was referred to as *Napahwhan* (Culin 1992:535;536). Around Stanley Mission, the game is known as *miskan mêtawêwin* which translates into English as "bone game" (Wolvengrey 2001). The "cup" and "pin" from Stanley Mission were found in units close to one another (41N6E and 40N5E). It is difficult to say if they are associated with one another, but they do represent the same popular game.

Educational Items

Another artifact type that can be linked to the children of Stanley Mission are the slate tablet fragments. The school at Stanley Mission was run by the missionaries or their wives and was mostly open during the summer months when there would be an abundance of children at the mission. The students would be able to bring home their lessons from school on their slate tablets. The presence of the slate fragments at the cabin suggests that one or more tablets broke and became part of the refuse. Hanna (2001a) reported an abundance of slate fragments found in the previous field excavation from both surface finds and tests from across the site. Several fragments of slate pencils and graphite pencils were also found during the excavation.

Religious Items

The missionaries at Stanley Mission ultimately had one goal in mind while stationed in this remote location: to convert the local Cree people into Christians. The village grew over the years as a result of the involvement of the regional community with the Church, and the

missionary journals reflect this interest; however, the excavation produced nothing in terms of religious paraphernalia, i.e. a cross. However, there is one find that reinforces this commitment to the Church and the observation of Christmas. A small, plastic, Christmas tree decoration was uncovered during the excavation. It is painted silver with one side indented and coloured red, imitating a blown glass ball ornament. Other religious items may have been too important to be left behind and that is why nothing else was recovered at the cabin. This ornament may have been lost in the shuffle of moving or accidentally misplaced. The artifact also suggests that Christmas was an important time of year. Someone purchased this object with the intent on decorating their home or Christmas tree, which is an outward display of their beliefs and feelings for this Christian event. This small ornament may not imply the same meanings as a cross or Bible, but it does express the significance of religious holidays for the Cree people of Stanley Mission.

Architectural Items

The woodworking subcategory is largely comprised of nails including, machine-cut, wire drawn, roofing, finishing, lath, and clout types. It is not uncommon at an historic site like the Stanley Mission Old Village to have a collection comprised of both cut and wire nails. The technological change from cut to round nails occurred during the late nineteenth century with wire nails becoming mainstream in the United States by the 1880s (Nelson 1968). This date cannot be used for certain, especially at a site such as Stanley Mission because it is not known when round nails finally reached northern Saskatchewan and one must consider a time lag before this new construction product became available in remote trading locations. Also, the availability of this new type of nail would also depend on when the supply companies started carrying these products. This leads to even more confusion when trying to date the excavated cabin remains. The initial structure was built with cut nails and this can be seen with nails in the floorboards and the walls. There are also wire nails found around the doorway where it appears there were a few attempts at repairing this high traffic area. In the entry way, small pieces of wood were nailed onto the floor with wire nails. There were also numerous round nails found throughout the cabin (see Figure 6.30).

The nail distribution map illustrates that the highest concentrations of nails were along a central line running east-west across the cabin remains. This may be a result of the structure collapsing with the walls falling towards the interior of the building. The possibility of a

collapse will be further discussed in Chapter 7 and the nails may be associated with the chimney rocks that appear to have toppled in this same direction. Nails were found in relatively large

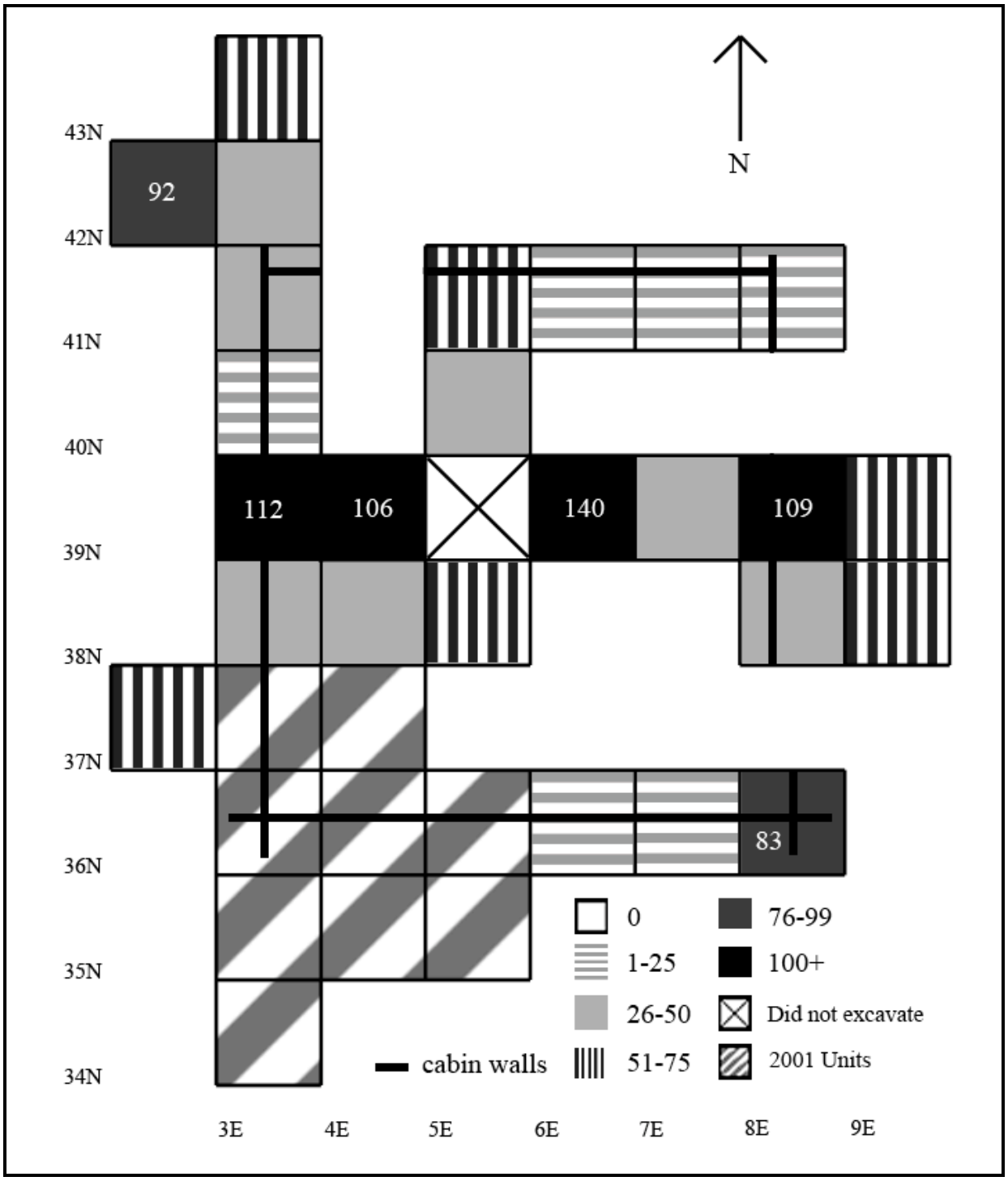

Figure 6.30: Nail distribution map for the cabin excavation at the Stanley Mission Old Village site. The numbers indicate the units that produced the highest number of nails.

amounts throughout the cabin units, suggesting this linear concentration might be a coincidence. The unit yielding the highest number of nails (140) is 39N6E. The SW quadrant in the third level (10-15 cm BS) was made up of pure ash indicating the location of an isolated fire and it contained an abundance of artifacts including 73 nails (over half the nails from the entire unit, which was dug down to about 70 cm). Two other units that produced large numbers of nails lay to the exterior of the excavation area: 36N8E and 42N2E. The stratigraphy of unit 36N8E is quite complex, especially in the SE quadrant. Here, lumps of sod appear to have been deposited, as reflected in the layers of clay separated by layers of organic material. This type of stratigraphy is present all over the cabin structure, suggesting the cabin area was used as a dumping ground after abandonment. An area southeast of the cabin was levelled and used as a garden sometime in the late 1900s and the levelling may have contributed to this stratigraphic pattern, specifically in unit 36N8E. Unit 42N2E also produced quite a few nails (92) and this is likely linked to the small hump that incorporates part of this unit.

There were other types of woodworking fasteners found during the excavation. These include screws, fence staples, spikes, tacks, nuts, and bolts. An axe head and a crooked knife blade can be directly linked to woodworking activities. An axe would have been an essential tool used for cutting firewood and wood for building things. A crooked knife is a tool usually associated with shaping wood and this would have been useful for constructing furniture and other tools.

Architectural items that are listed under Building Fragments include the 233 pieces of shingles and 4 stained glass fragments. As stated previously, the number of shingle fragments would have been much higher if they were collected during the second field season, but the highly fragile nature of the shingles after they had been excavated led us to the decision stop their collection. During 2007, it was noted if shingles were present within each unit. The shingle fragments found at the cabin may or may not be from this particular building. The majority of these artifacts were found within the first two levels (0-10 cm BS), suggesting that they were put there some time after the collapse of the cabin. The earlier cabins at Stanley Mission, ca. 1915, had thatched roofs (SAB R-A6960 Figure 2.8) and shingled roofs would have been seen much later in the 1900s.

Household Items

The excavation of the cabin produced 27 sewing needles and their distribution can be seen in Figure 6.31. Only six needles are complete, suggesting that the majority of these needles were discarded due to their exhausted state. All of the 11 needles found in unit 39N4E are fragments and this unit contains and surrounds the north portion of the firebox. The cluster of sewing needles may suggest that women were sewing or beading around the fireplace for a source of light. The other concentration of sewing needles is in unit 37N2E and it produced seven. It is possible that the area behind the house was used to dump garbage, but there were only a couple of units excavated on the far west side of the excavation and this is not enough to draw concrete conclusions about this interpretation.

Other household items found at the cabin include chimney lamp fragments and a kerosene lamp wick guide. The glass fragments from the chimney lamp collected from unit 39N3E within levels 2-4 (5-20 cm BS) most likely are from the same object as there was not other chimney glass found anywhere else at the cabin. A metal wick guide found in 42N3E is another sign that kerosene lamps were an important source of light. Even in the later years of the Old Village, electricity was never established on the north side of the river. The cabin excavation also produced several furniture handles and mirror fragments that were once part of household objects.

The ceramic collection contains a variety of different waretypes, from plain earthenwares to porcelain. The majority of the ceramic fragments are white earthenware, which constitutes 87% of the ceramic assemblage. The other waretypes – porcelain, vitrified white earthenware, and redware – complete the assemblage with 8%, 4%, and 1%, respectively (refer back to Figure 6.12 for pie chart). The HBC and other trading companies frequently stocked earthenwares as they were cheaper and more durable than other types. The HBC commissioned the Spode/Copeland company to supply both tableware and toiletware throughout the nineteenth century (Sussman 1979:9). There is no documentary evidence as to when this contract was terminated, so it is possible that this arrangement continued into the twentieth century. Sussman (1979:9-10) goes on to explain that Spode/Copeland mostly supplied transfer-printed white earthenware ceramics, as they were very popular during the nineteenth century and can be found at a large number of HBC sites, including Stanley Mission. An HBC packing list of goods received dated to 1869-1870 mentions: "/1 doz ea lg plates (flat and deep)/ 1 doz small plates/ 2

doz tin and iron tablespoons/" (HBC Archives B.174/z/1). Although this document does not list specific patterns or waretypes, it does give an idea of the amount ordered at that time.

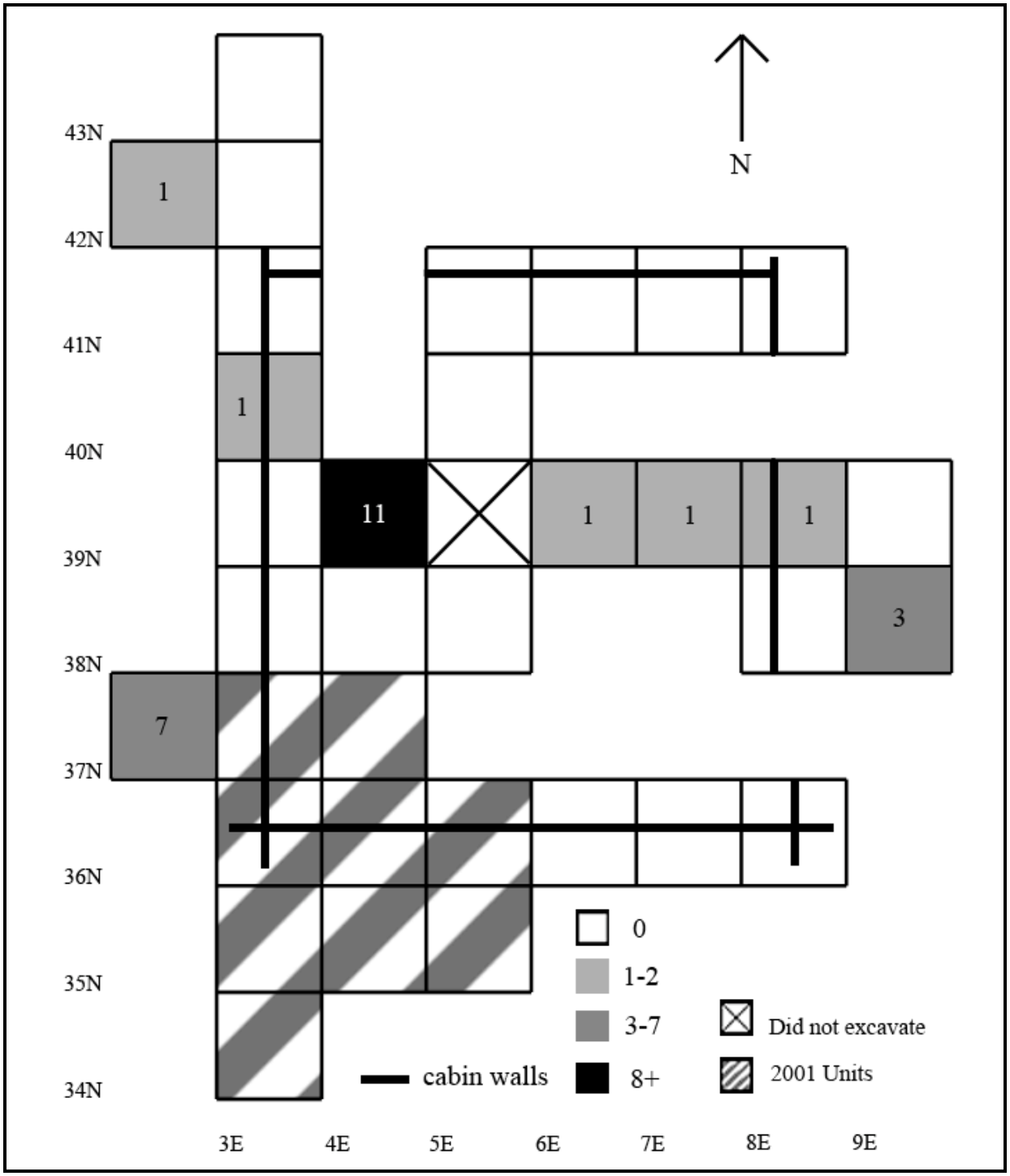

Figure 6.31: Sewing needle distribution map for the cabin excavation at the Stanley Mission Old Village site. The numbers indicate the exact number found in each unit.

Many of the ceramic fragments exhibit patterns and these are of various colours. Some of the fragments with transfer-prints could be identified by pattern name and then be linked to manufacturing dates (this information is located in Table A.10 in Appendix A). All but one recognizable patterns are Spode/Copeland and they are mostly blue or flowblue in colour. These identified Spode/Copeland patterns are: B700, B772, Willow (both early and late versions), Rural Scenes, Honeysuckle, Ionian, Brosely (Temples), Louis Quatorze border, Elcho, Thistle, Flower Vase, and the border used for both Macaw and Pagoda. The other identifiable pattern is Pareek and was made by Johnson Bros. Several ceramic fragments have burgundy and green stamped designs that look similar to Portneuf pottery, but they could not be matched to a specific pattern. The porcelain fragments that have decorative polychrome transfer-prints are all too small to be identified as a specific pattern. There are also other fragments with transfer-prints in various colours with patterns that remain unidentifiable.

The manufacturing dates really only suggest a rough time frame as to when these ceramics were first available in Stanley Mission and this would have depended on suppliers, prices, popularity, and quality. The manufacturing dates of the identifiable patterns range from the early 1800s to the 20th century; this is definitely a large time frame to consider, especially with many lacking a specific end date of manufacture (see Table A.10 in Appendix A). Earlier patterns include Brosely and Macaw/Pagoda, while some of the later patterns have been identified as Flower Vase, Ionian, Rural Scenes, Thistle, and Willow. After the ceramics were purchased they would have been used for a number of years until they broke. It is not known whether the household dishes were shipped back and forth from the mission to the traplines every year, but this may have played a large role in the lifespan of the ceramics. It can be hypothesized that if the dishes remained in the cabin at the village during the winter months and were used on a daily basis only throughout the spring and summer, then they would have lasted longer; less overall use denotes less chance of the dishes breaking. If the dishes were packed and moved for year-round usage, then the chances of breakage would be much higher, which would result in greater numbers of fragments.

The analysis section of this chapter divides the ceramic artifacts by vessel type due to the highly fragmented nature of the collection. However, there are some connections between the vessel types and the identifiable patterns. Several patterns can be seen in both hollowware and flatware white earthenware fragments: Honeysuckle, Macaw/Pagoda border, B772, B770, and

the Louis Quatorze border. This might be evidence of the use of different sets of dishes with cups, bowls, and various plate sizes. However, there are some identifiable patterns that are not seen in both vessel types and these could signify the use of a collection of dishes that did not all match. This could be very possible at a site like Stanley Mission where there was a limited number of stores from which to buy dishes. If a vessel was purchased to replace a broken dish, the same pattern might not have been available because the popularity in patterns changed over time and this would affect the different stock brought into the trading posts. Or, the trader may have been sold out of a particular pattern, thus leaving the customer to wait for more to come in or to choose a different pattern. The ownership of a complete set of dishes may not have been important at all and this could explain the wide variety of patterns found in and around the cabin excavation.

The analysis of undecorated vs. decorated fragments can be used to discuss purchasing preferences. Usually, a higher percentage of undecorated fragments indicates the conscious act of purchasing less expensive dishes. This ceramic assemblage, however, is made up of 55.4% decorated and 44.6% undecorated fragments. This observation may suggest either that the prices were similar for both, that decorated ceramics were preferred over plain wares, or that the availability could have limited purchasing choices.

The distribution map (see Figure 6.32) illustrates the concentrations of ceramic fragments at the cabin excavation. The most significant of these concentrations is located outside the doorway along the eastern wall (units 38N9E and 39N9E). Together, these units produced 125 fragments, approximately 1/3 of the ceramic assemblage. There are several actions that may have caused this pattern. First, dishes may have broken at this location, thus indicating a primary deposition process; however, these were highly fragmented pieces and could not be reconstructed. This leads to a second possibility that broken dishes, along with other refuse, were tossed outside the cabin, signifying a disposal area. Garbage could have been swept outside or simply thrown out the front door. At many historical archaeological sites this artifact distribution is referred to as the Brunswick Pattern, a secondary refuse disposal pattern found in many British colonies in the eastern U.S. (South 1977). Other characteristics of this pattern include clusters of refuse at the rear of the structure, close to the walls, and at the entryways. Although this pattern is usually associated with European households, the archaeological evidence at Stanley Mission suggests a similar secondary refuse disposal pattern. This pattern is

also supported by relatively high numbers of ceramic fragments found in units 42N2E and 43N3E, both at the rear of the cabin, and in unit 41N6E along the northern cabin wall. It would be interesting to investigate a larger area outside of the cabin, specifically units situated adjacent to the doorway, to see if this high concentration of ceramics truly reflects this suggested patterning or if it is associated with other activities.

There are two more areas that yielded large numbers of ceramic fragments. The first of these is the firebox in unit 39N4E where 19 fragments were recovered. This is another piece of evidence to suggest that the fireplace was used for disposal of discarded items. The cellar area, including units 39N6E and 39N7E, contained the second highest concentration of ceramic fragments and half of these were collected from below the floorboards (which were measured at ~30 cm BS). Some of these fragments may have been small enough to fit between the floorboards, but this accumulation of ceramics is most likely indicative of the cellar serving as an "artifact trap." Garbage or trash could have been tossed into the cellar and accumulated over time or it may have been used as a refuse pit during both the temporary abandonments and the final abandonment. To further expand on these proposed ideas, more units will have to be excavated both inside and outside the cabin structure.

Household-type items also include the artifacts found in the Packages and Containers category. These are made up of food and medicine containers, several of identifiable products, and also other items used for packaging goods. The distribution of these whole and fragmented artifacts can be seen in Figure 6.33. Unit 36N8E appears to have a very high concentration of fragments (n=131), but this number is inflated because of two fragmented containers; there is a tin can, represented by 33 fragments, and a Pepsi bottle, comprised of 44 fragments, making up a large percentage of the total fragments. Units 42N2E and 43N3E produced large quantities of artifacts, further evidence of a refuse disposal area. Units 38N5E, 39N6E, and 41N5E also display secondary refuse disposal patterning. As previously mentioned, unit 39N6E contained large amounts of artifacts, especially below the floorboards (~30 cm BS), but in regards to the package and container fragments, only three were recovered from below this depth and the remaining 54 artifacts were found above the floor. Units 38N5E and 41N5E were only excavated to the top of the floorboards. Therefore, the vast majority of the package and container fragments found in these three units indicates secondary refuse disposal. The accumulation of garbage and the complex wall profiles above the floorboards reflect many years

of trash build-up and soil disturbance. This suggests that the structure may have been built quite early in the history of the mission. This will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

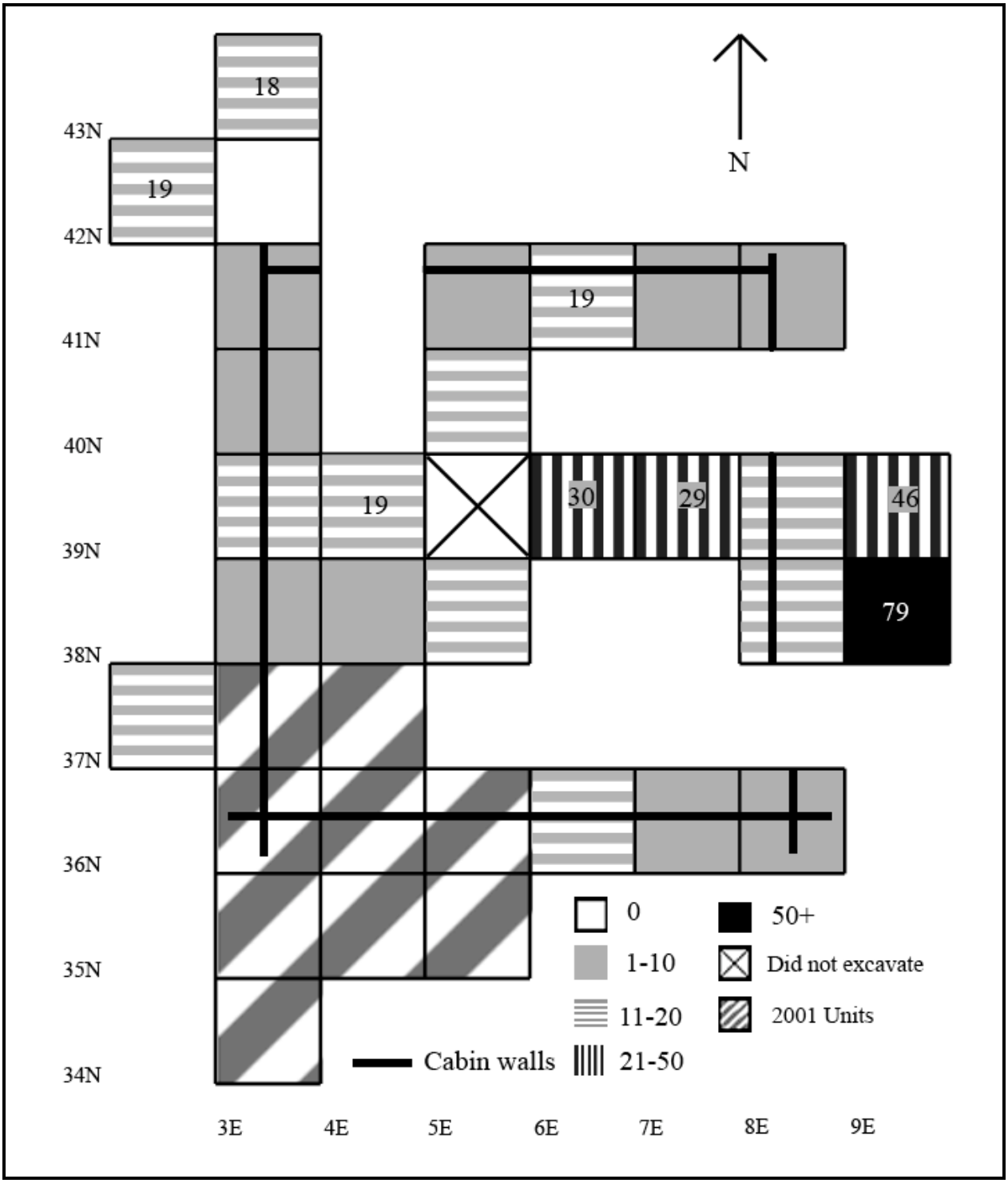

Figure 6.32: Ceramic distribution map for the cabin excavation at the Stanley Mission Old Village site. Units with numbers display the highest quantities.

The medication and food items would have been purchased from the local stores and trading posts. A complete Eclectric Oil bottle and a few fragments of some incomplete vessels were found during the excavation. Eclectric Oil was a "cure-all" type patent medicine that claimed to help coughs and sore throats, lameness and sore muscles, relieve the pain of neuralgia, earache and toothache, lessen inflammation of bruises, cuts, and burns, heal minor sprains, treat non-venomous insect bites, frostbites, chapped hands, corns, bunions, and warts (Smithsonian 2010). Many different medicines were brought into Stanley Mission through the fur trade posts. A HBC packing list from 1869-70 includes the following medicines: "1/2 doz Turlington's Balsam of Life / 1/3 doz Essence of Peppermint / ¼ lb gum camphor / ½ lb castor oil / ¼ lb basilicon ointment / ¼ lb calamine ointment / ¼ lb turnene ointment / 1/9 yd spread plaster / ¼ lb blistering plaster / ¼ lb strengthening plaster / ½ doz Purges / 2 lbs Epsom salts" (HBC archives B.174/z/1). Elsie Kemp, Harold Kemp's wife, took on the role of a nurse at the mission during their posting for the Revillon Frères Company. She found that the medical supplies available in the mission had been significantly depleted and took it upon herself to order more supplies. Mrs. Kemp noted "there would have to be Capsolin, Thermofuge, ergot, and camphorated oil… Dover tablets… and asprin [sic]" (Kemp 1957:167). Although she thought that having an adequate supply of medicine was necessary, Elsie also relied largely on her range of home remedies such as tea and goose grease.

As will be discussed in the following section, the bought items supplemented the local diet of mammals, fish, birds, and wild plants. Baking powder was an important ingredient for making bannock. Other products, such as "1/3 keg sugar / 3 kegs congon tea…/ 1_2_ keg rice [sic]/ 1_2_ keg molasses [sic]…" (HBC archive B.174/a/3) can also be viewed as "staple" foods bought through the trading posts. Overall, the identifiable artifacts can be linked to later occupation at the mission settlement. The Fizzies wrappers and pop bottles are dated to the 1960s. The Miracle Whip jar lid fragments are from a painted screw-cap type lid and, therefore, they probably date to the latter half of the 20th century, as well as the KLIK can. These products may be indicative of higher amounts of store-bought goods being purchased by the mid-1900s. The technological advances in transportation to remote areas such as Stanley Mission would have allowed for more goods and a larger variety of items to be brought into the village. These changes coincided with the local population increasing in numbers and becoming more sedentary. Overtime, families remained at the settlement for longer intervals and made shorter

trips back to the traplines. By the mid-1970s, all residents of Stanley Mission lived on the south side of the river and this abandonment period is reflected in the types of artifacts found in the archaeological record.

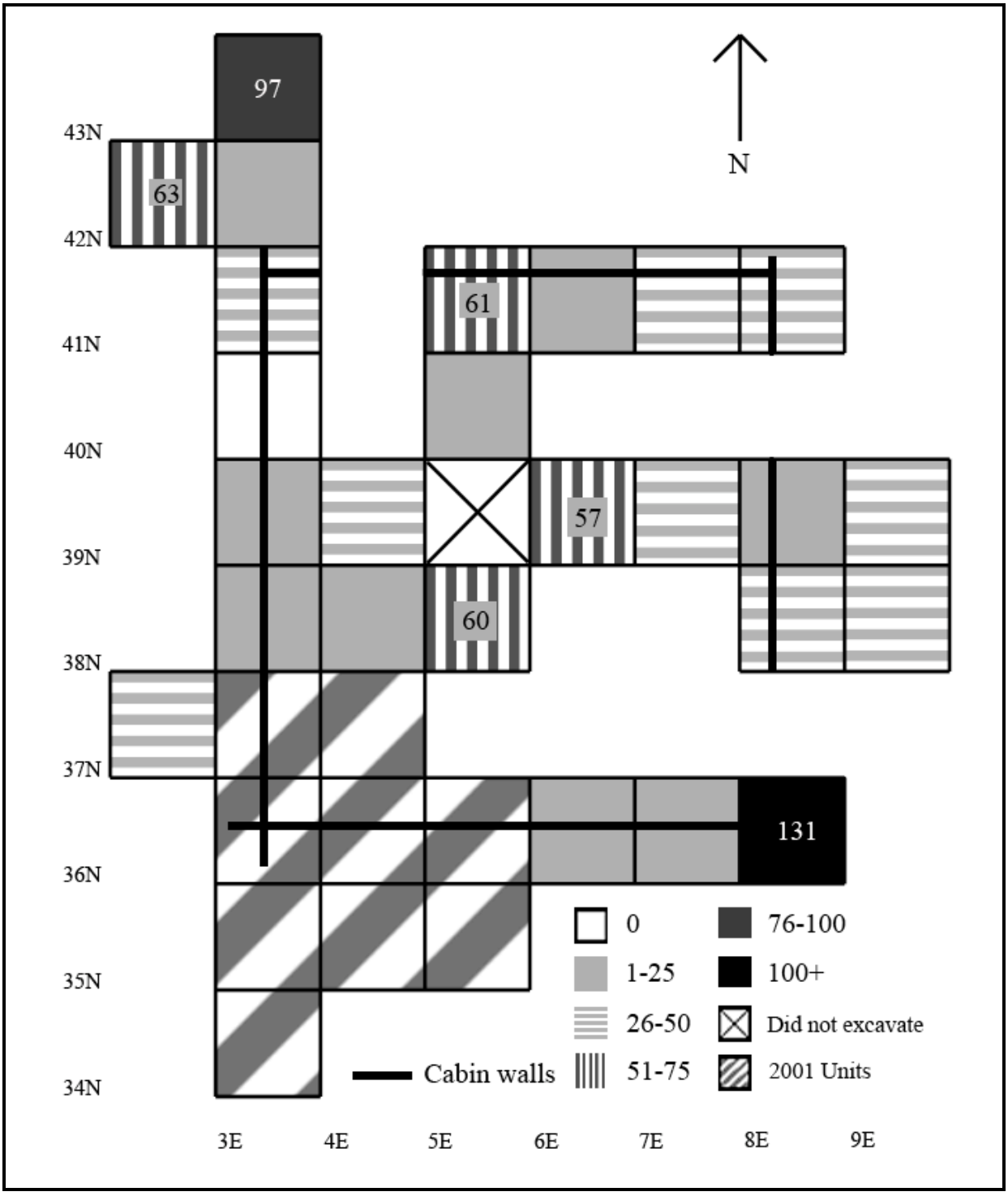

Figure 6.33: Packages and Containers distribution map for the cabin excavation at the Stanley Mission Old Village site. Units with numbers display the highest quantities.

Game Animal Procurement

The armament subcategory includes artifacts related to game animal procurement. Hunting items found at the cabin excavation include gunflints, musket balls, cartridge cases, shotgun shell cases and bases, and lead shot. Three fragments of gunflints were recovered during the excavation. Even though cartridges were introduced in the second half of the 19th century, flintlock guns were still used in Stanley Mission during the late 1800s. Flintlock guns and flints appear on an HBC supply order dated 1869-1870: "/5 common flintlock guns (4ft)/… /100 pistol flints/ 8 powder horns/…" (HBC Archives B.174/z/1). Another HBC archival document entitled "1870 for Lac Brochet" includes the following types of arms: "/5 flintlock guns single barrel/ 5 percussion guns single barrel/ 2 double barreled percussion guns/ 2 double barreled flintlock guns/ and gun worms, gun powder, gun flints, pistol flints/… (HBC Archives B.174/z/1). Syd Keighley and Harold Kemp, HBC and Revillon Frères Co. traders respectively, acknowledged that in the 1920s they still sold black powder, lead shot, and percussion caps, as well as flints that were used for starting fires (Keighley 1988:85; Kemp 1956). There was also the chain portion of an animal trap found in unit 42N2E and three fish hooks in units 38N9E, 39N4E, and 39N8E (see Figure 6.34 for distribution map).

The assemblage from the cabin excavation contains various types of ammunition, fishing equipment, and part of a trap. The distribution map highlights the concentrations of these artifacts, with the largest numbers occurring in the units 39N4E, 39N6E, 39N7E, 39N9E, and 38N9E. This distribution pattern is similar to that of other artifact concentrations around the firebox, cellar, and outside the doorway, indicating that these are disposal areas. A conflicting observation is that units 42N2E and 43N3E, which generally have large numbers of artifacts, only yielded a few cartridges each.

The range of ammunition types reveals the transition of gun technology and hunting practices. The lead balls and flint fragments indicate the use of older flintlock guns. The percussion caps represent the change from flint to the percussion ignition system. Finally, the use of breech-loading weapons can be seen in the presence of rim-fire cartridges, centre-fire cartridges, and shotgun shells. A wide variety of weapons were used for hunting and this was due to the change in equipment, but it also depended on what types of animals were being hunted.

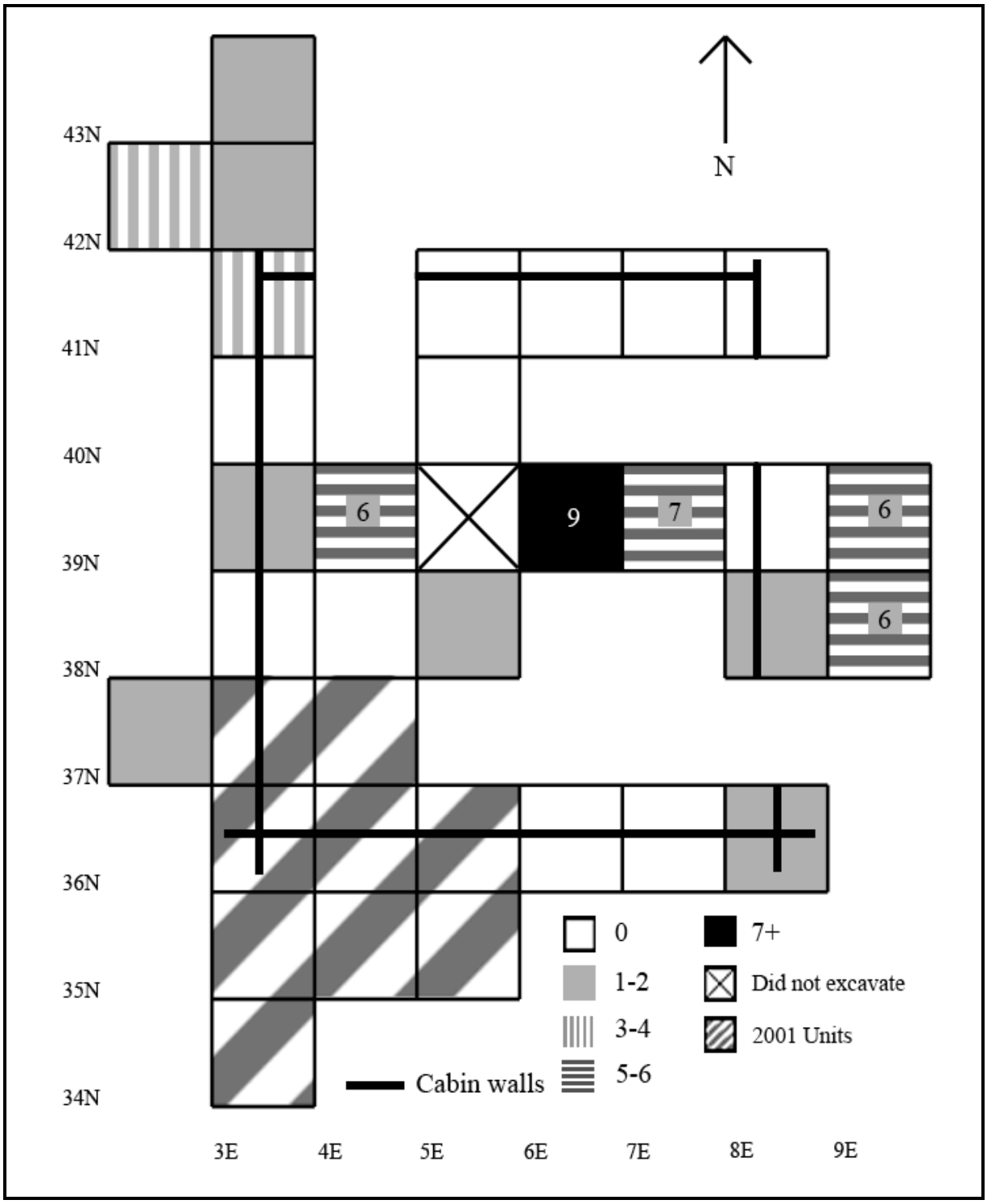

Figure 6.34: Hunting, trapping, and fishing artifacts distribution map for the cabin excavation at the Stanley Mission Old Village site. Units with numbers display the highest quantities.

These methods of animal procurement were used to produce meat and fish for subsistence and furs for sale. The local diet at Stanley Mission mainly consisted of wild game

including large and small mammals, terrestrial birds, waterfowl, and fish. Large amounts of fish were caught each year and then smoked. The Cree people also hunted and trapped to produce surplus furs for trading. The fur trade was an important economic venture for both the Cree people and the traders. People lived at their traplines for the majority of the year, collecting as many furs as possible. Sometimes the traders would pick up the furs themselves as they tripped from one trap line to the next or the native people would bring in their furs to the trading posts in the spring when they returned to the mission. The natives would then use the money they earned from the furs to buy goods from the post. The types of animals, and even the specific species, procured for both eating and trading can be seen from the faunal assemblage.

As described in detail in the previous section, the faunal assemblage contains a variety of the remains of northern Saskatchewan wildlife. These animals were not only caught for their furs and for food, but also for feathers, personal clothing, and dog food. The identifiable species with the highest number of specimens by far is the snowshoe hare (n=206) with an MNI of 16. Men, women, and children could trap this smaller game in close proximity to the mission, thus inflating the numbers. Large mammals are the animal size class with the highest number of specimens and these represent animals such as caribou, deer, and dog/wolf. There were also a large amount of fish remains collected from the cabin, specifically, longnose sucker and walleye. Many fish were netted throughout the summer months for immediate consumption, smoking, and for dog food. The long list of identifiable species (refer back to Table 6.19) found at the cabin structure implies that the people of Stanley Mission had a highly diverse diet.

There are several patterns evident from the faunal assemblage. The elements of larger animals that were found in the cabin were highly fractured, suggesting that the initial butchering was done away from the living area and smaller cuts of meat were brought back to the cabin to be further processed. It is unknown if there were separate butchering and bone refuse areas outside of the house, as if they are out of the excavation range. The river was also a convenient disposal area because garbage and its odour would be carried away. People would not want large decaying bones in and around their house. Northern Algonquians, such as the Cree people at Stanley Mission, paid appropriate respect towards animal bodies and this resulted in a prescribed treatment of their remains. This involved the special handling and disposal of some of the bones (see Preston 1964). It is probable that dogs and other scavenging animals would consume any larger bones discarded in the vicinity of the cabin. This is evident by carnivore

tooth marks present on several specimens. It might also be possible that the lower number of specimens from trapped species, such as dogs/wolves, fox, and lynx, is due to living away from the traplines during the summer. There are a few elements of red fox, wolf, and beaver, but these may have been procured for reasons other than for fur trading. Finally, the majority of the assemblage is highly fractured, with many long bone shaft fragments of all bird and mammal size classes. This could be attributable to butchering and processing with heavy chopping tools for acquiring bone grease, the disposal of refuse, scavenging, and decomposition.

The distribution of faunal remains at the cabin excavation does follow the trends of other artifact distributions, but some units have inflated numbers due to the inclusion of large numbers of fish scales (see Figure 6.35). The three units with the highest number of faunal remains are 39N3E (936 scales), 41N5E (559 scales), and 41N8E (419 scales). These units contained portions of fish suggesting that they were scaled or filleted in this location. By omitting the scales from these three units, their totals change to 118, 311, and 92, respectively, and the new distribution numbers then fit with the overall artifact distributions. Units 42N2E and 43N3E contain the highest amount of faunal remains with neither containing any fish scales. The cellar area (unit 39N6E) collection was comprised of 232 specimens and unit 36N8E had 234, both lacking scales. Unit 36N8E also contained a large number of package and container artifacts. This could be attributed to items being pushed towards the walls inside and outside the cabin or because of the disturbed soil in the upper layers.

6.6 Future Work

Further excavation is required outside of the cabin to create a more comprehensive analysis of the artifacts and faunal remains. From archival photographs and discussions with Elders, it is evident that much of the processing and cooking took place outside of the cabin over fires and smoking racks. Also, more units to the rear of the cabin need to be investigated in order to draw more concrete conclusions about possible refuse areas at the northwest corner of the structure and in the doorway area. Since the cellar was only excavated at the very end of the field season, its excavation was incomplete. It would be useful to reach the floor of the cellar where it is likely items were placed from the period of the cabin's occupation. The admixture of fill in the cellar might suggest the presence of post occupation debris, but the stratigraphy suggests that the cellar area was not disturbed to the same degree as the cabin floor above. The cellar should also be further investigated in terms of size, as only units 39N6E and 39N7E were

excavated. These two units also happen to be the only areas where the excavation continued below the floorboard level. All of the other units were dug down to expose the wall logs or to the floor. The soil on top of the cabin floor had been disturbed by abandonment, destruction,

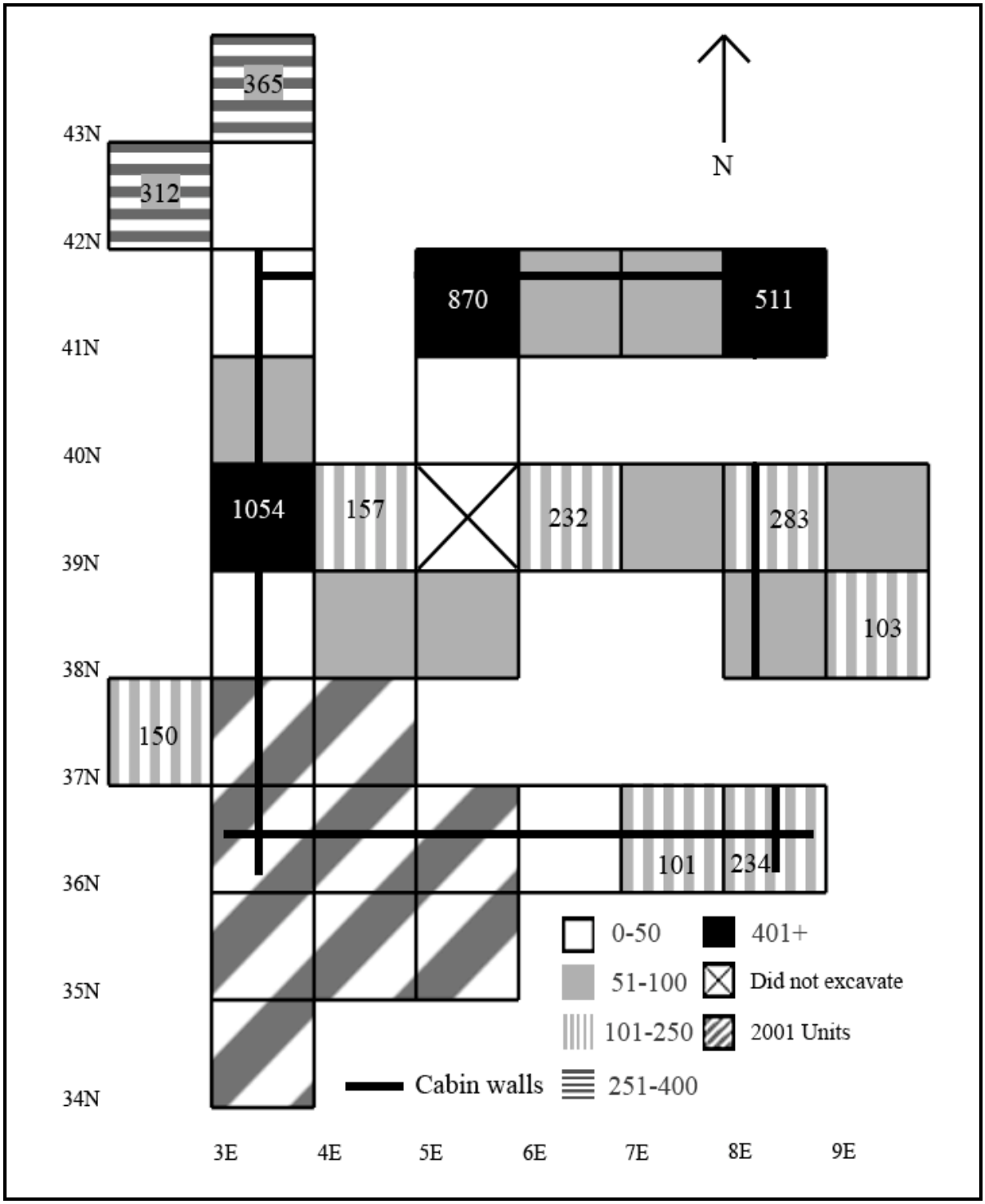

Figure 6.35: Faunal remains distribution map for the cabin excavation at the Stanley Mission Old Village site. Units with numbers display the highest quantities.

salvaging, scavenging, environmental factors, and nearby gardening activities; therefore the artifacts found at the cabin are more representative of a Cree household and village life. It would be interesting to compare the excavations of this cabin to another cabin at the village and also to a cabin at a trap line to see the differences in assemblages and also in disposal areas.

Chapter 7

Cabin Features and Construction

7.1 Introduction

After the initial discovery of the cabin remains in the 2001 field season, the crew was expecting to uncover a one-room structure that was roughly 3.7x4.3 m (12x14 ft) in size. Many of the "Indian" houses labelled on Fawcett's survey map (Fawcett 1920) conformed to these dimensions. The cabin itself is seen as a feature within the site, but here I will be discussing various architectural features within the cabin. The structure was built using local materials such as white spruce logs and rocks for the chimney. A mixture of clay, grass, and moss was used as chinking to hold the chimney rocks in place and was also packed between the wall logs for insulation. All of the cabin remains were located below the surface (refer to Figure 7.1 for the cabin layout and the architectural elements discussed below). From the time that the cabin was abandoned, it has been covered up by clay, soil, and a substantial amount of vegetation growth, mostly grasses.

The Elders proposed that we were in fact, digging at Murdoch McKenzie's cabin and their descriptions became an important component of the excavation progression. The 2001 investigations located the southwest corner of the cabin and from this point the exterior walls were followed to determine the extent of the structure. As a result of the 2006 field work, several structural elements were discovered including the chimney, front doorway area, and the use of squared logs with dove-tailed corners. The next field season provided more information about the construction of the north and south gabled walls, but mainly focussed on the interior of the cabin with further exploration of the hearth area and a possible cellar. These areas of investigation will be described in the following section and will then be compared to the floor plan of Mr. McKenzie's cabin in Chapter 8.

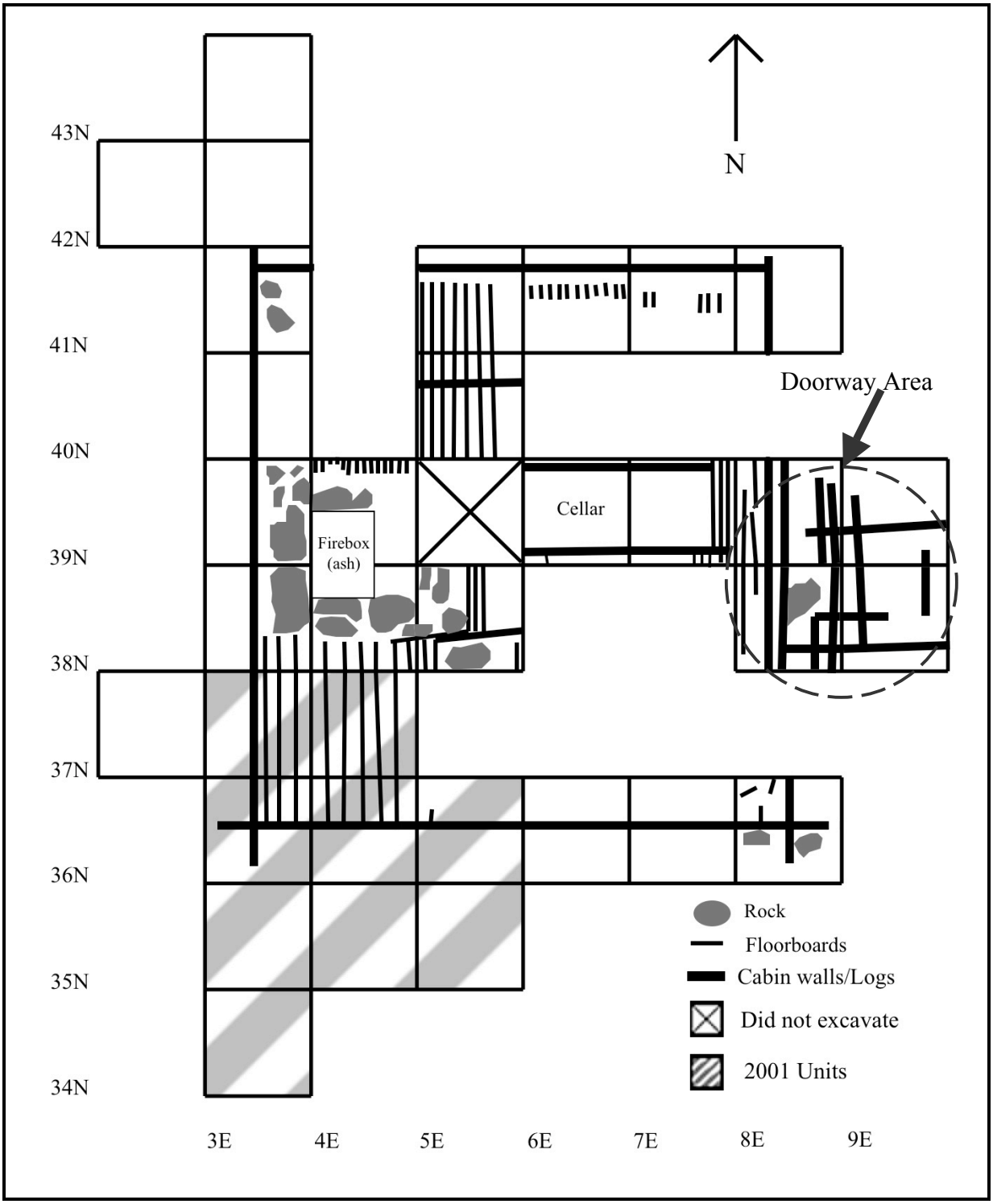

Figure 7.1: Cabin excavation units illustrating cabin walls, floorboards, floor joists, doorway area, firebox, and hearth area.

7.2 Features of the Cabin

The cabin excavation revealed identifiable aspects of the structural remains including the perimeter walls and doorway area, the cellar, and the fireplace with surrounding hearth. The field work provided information about some architectural elements such as the gabled walls and the door sill. The archaeological remains also demonstrate construction methods used to build the structure. These components confirm the layout and orientation of this single-room cabin.

7.2.1 Perimeter Walls and Doorway Area – Evidence of Piéce-sur-Piéce Construction

The walls of the cabin can be identified in the following units: 36N3E north to 41N3E; 41N3E east to 41N8E; 41N8E south to 36N8E; and 36N8E west to 36N3E. Some of these units were only excavated to a depth sufficient to expose the top of the wall timber to verify the extent of the structure and the presence of any structural remains. As a result of this limited investigation in some areas of the cabin's perimeter, it was difficult to determine whether the logs were the "sill logs" (the first log on top of the foundation) or regular wall logs. In some units there was a thin lens of burned organic matter directly above the wall log. This early indication of the exterior wall was present along the west and north walls and might be evidence that the building burned, leaving behind remnants of the upper timber. However, lens is not present across the entire structure and, therefore, it is possible that only part of the building burned. The logs were also surrounded by clay, which could have protected the lower portion of the building from burning completely, but if the clay did serve as a protective layer it does not display any signs of heat treatment (i.e. burned clay).

In other areas it was possible to determine whether the exposed timber was the sill log or an upper log. Units 36N3E to 38N3E were excavated lower than the first log encountered, revealing at least one other below. It can be confirmed that the north and south wall timbers were the sill logs and they can also be classified as the end walls of the cabin. Mid-way along these logs are mortises that would have accepted a tenon from a support stud, also known as a kingpost (see Figures 7.2, 7.3, and 7.4 for the units with the mortises). As seen in Figure 7.5, some of the cabins at Stanley Mission were constructed with a vertical post in the middle of the gable walls. It is not known what method of joinery was used to connect the wall logs to the kingpost, but it could have been similar to *pièce-sur-pièce* Canadian and Métis construction (Lessard and Vilandré 1974; Hébert 2007). In this method of construction the vertical posts would have a

groove running down either side and the ends of the wall logs would have had a tenon creating a tenon-and-groove joint (Hébert 2007:36). Or the wall timbers may simply have butted up against the post and been secured with nails.

The *pièce-sur-pièce* French construction method diffused across Canada during the 18th and 19th centuries with different styles being used throughout the West. The classic 'Red River Frame' or 'Manitoba Frame' (Mann and Skinulis 1979:12,141) style of construction is also known as *pièce-sur-pièce en coulisse* construction. This method consists of posts being positioned at all four corners and at various places along the exterior walls with horizontal logs placed in between. The horizontal logs were secured between the posts with tenon-and-groove joints (Hébert 2007:36). This style can be seen in the Stanley Mission schoolhouse in Figure 7.6. The other *pièce-sur-pièce* construction is referred to as *en queue d'aronde* and this style incorporates the use of dove-tailed joints at the corners (Hébert 2007:38-39). Dove-tailed log construction, which was widespread during the late 1800s and early 1900s, was typical of HBC and Métis buildings (see Burley and Horsfall 1989). This type of squared-log construction was also seen in "English Canada" during the 19th century with its own variation (Hébert 2007:40). The English style of *pièce-sur-pièce* construction did not employ the use of vertical posts at the

Figure 7.2: The south wall sill log in unit 36N6E. See mortise at right (also see Figure 7.3 to see the mortise continue into unit 36N5E- labeled as 'notch').

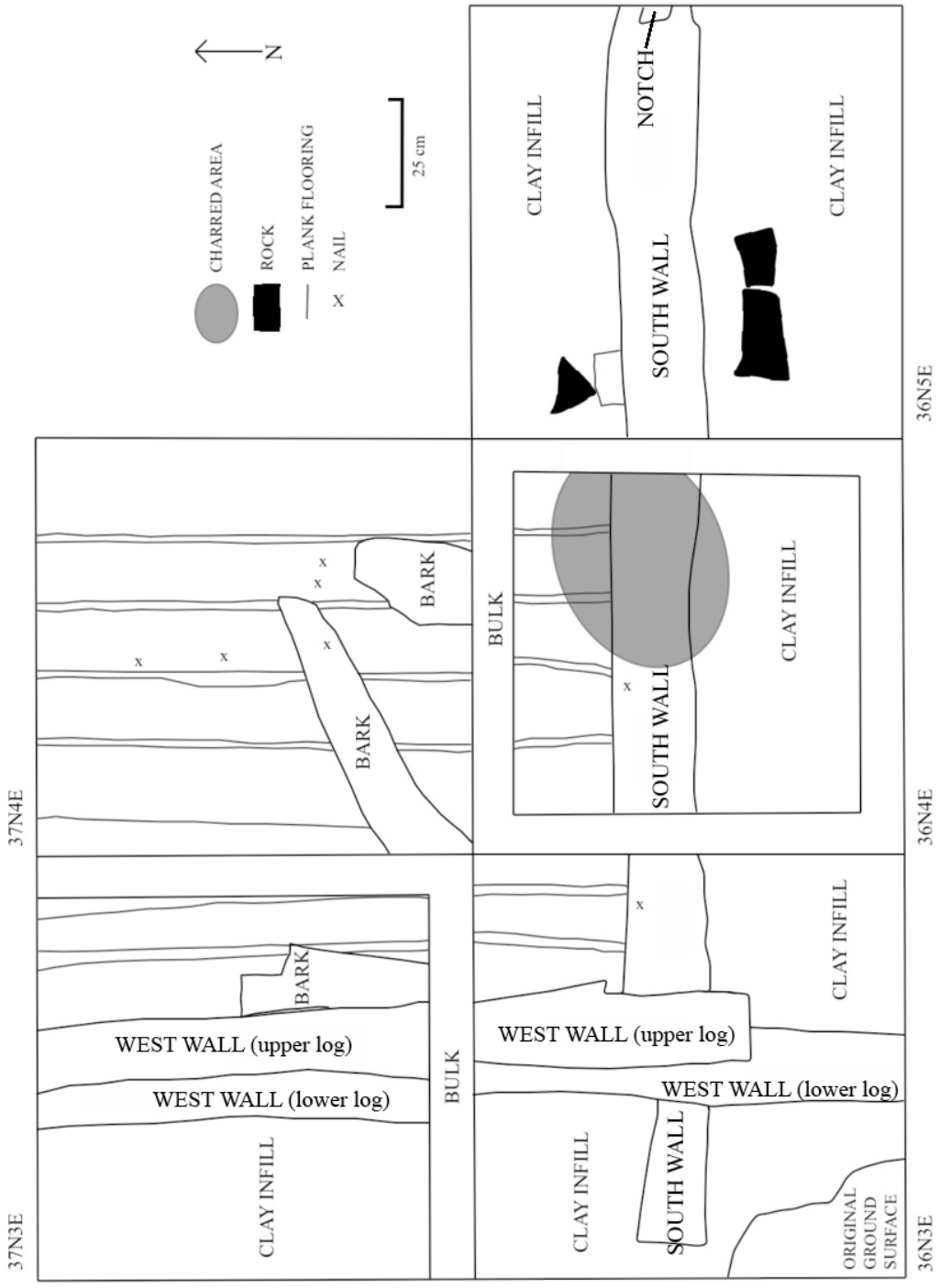

Figure 7.3: 2001 Plan View of the SW corner of the cabin (Units 36N3E, 36N4E, 36N5E, 37N3E, 37N4E).

Figure 7.4: The north wall at top with floorboards in units 41N5E and 40N5E. Mortise location is indicated by upright trowel and pink flagging tape marks nails.

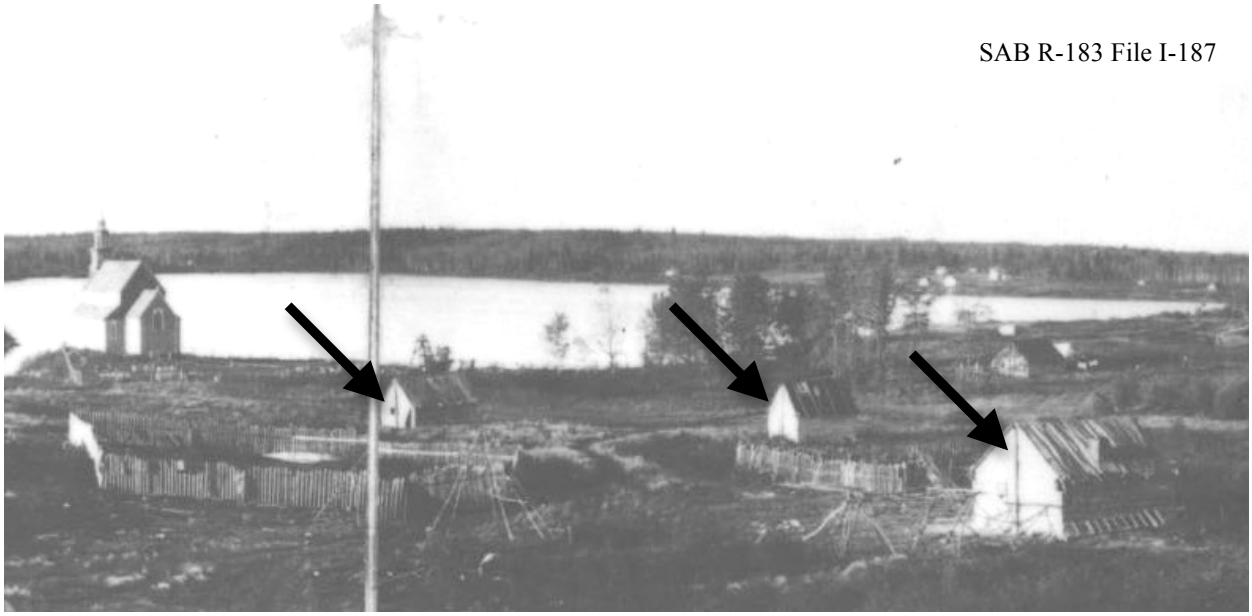

Figure 7.5: Archival photograph showing that some cabins ca. 1920 have gable posts standing the entire height of wall. (Photograph cropped and modified by author). (Photograph courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives Board).

corners or on either side of windows and doors as the traditional style. The squared-log buildings, as can be seen at Stanley Mission, used dove-tailed corners and timbers long enough to span the entire length of the wall, thus eliminating the need for vertical posts (Moogk 1977:122; also see Lessard and Vilandre 1974). See Figure 7.7 for a close look at typical cabin construction at Stanley Mission.

The cabin remains found in the excavation clearly display the use of dove-tailed joinery on the structure. Unit 36N8E contains the SE corner of the cabin where the sill log is the south wall and the east wall log is lying on top (see Figure 7.8). As with the other corners of the building, the wall timbers appear to have been moved out of their original locations. The wall logs may have rolled out of place because of decay, deconstruction, and environmental factors. The movement of the logs could also have affected the contemporary measurements of the cabin causing it to appear larger than its actual size. The remains currently measure approximately 4.5x5 m (14.7x16.4 ft) making it larger than the 12x14 ft Cree cabins labelled on Fawcett's survey map.

Figure 7.6: Schoolhouse at Stanley Mission ca. 1920 exhibiting 'Red River Frame' construction method. (Photograph cropped by author). (Photograph courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives Board).

Figure 7.7: Typical cabin at Stanley Mission ca. 1915. Note the dove-tailed corners, lack of intermediate posts around the windows and doors, and also the kingpost only standing the height of the gable. (Photograph cropped by author). (Photograph courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives Board).

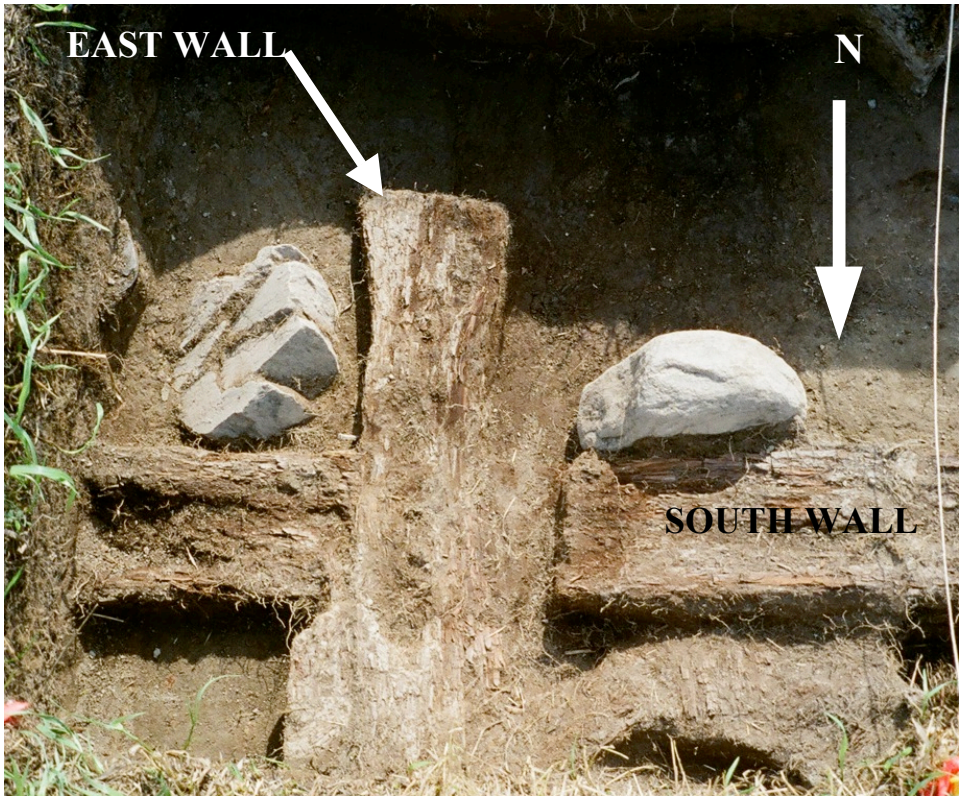

Figure 7.8: Southeast corner of cabin (unit 36N8E) with the end of the east wall timber shaped to fit a dove-tailed joint.

The doorway area has been identified and located directly opposite the fireplace. A notch in a wall timber was discovered in the excavation along the east wall. Unit 39N8E shows evidence of a notch cut into the sill log where the door frame would have sat (see Figure 7.9). However, there is no other notch present to indicate where the other side of the door frame sat on the wall. Just south of the notch and in the immediate area there are a large number of nails sticking out of the timbers. As this was most likely the only door into the building, the abundance of nails may indicate repairs to this high-traffic area. The 'log' to the west of the identified doorway notch, may actually be a floorboard. This was difficult to interpret due to the compact clay that completely surrounded all of the timbers. The confusion of squared logs to the east is also difficult to interpret. It is possible that this debris outside the front of the cabin may be the remnants of a porch or of a collapsed wall. These logs continue into the adjacent units to the east and more exploration around the front of the building is needed to better interpret these remains.

7.2.2 Cellar Area

Most cabins at Stanley Mission had centrally located cellars below the floorboards. Elders have noted that they were used to store food, such as potatoes, and other items throughout the year. During the 2007 field season, the crew began excavating this area in the last few days of work and this is why only a small portion was uncovered, specifically units 39N6E and part of 39N7E. These two units only have floorboards positioned along the north and south edges (see Figure 7.10) and, therefore, the area below the floor level could be excavated. Just below the depth of the floorboards, which is ~38-43 cm BS at the western edge of 39N6E and only ~15-20 cm BS at the eastern edge of 39N7E, the hard-packed clay fill became a mottled soil fill (see Figure 7.11 for a wall profile of these two units). The boundary of this soil change gradually moved further west and at the same time continued downward. Unit 39N6E was dug to a depth of ~80 cm BS, but this did not appear to be the bottom of the cellar, which is presumably clay. The horizontal extent of the cellar is also unknown.

The stratigraphy above the floorboards is quite complex and presents evidence of post-abandonment cabin destruction. Please refer to Figure 7.11 for the wall profile. This level is marked by a thick woodchip layer on top of the floor joist and this is covered by an abundance of rocks, mostly likely from the chimney collapse. The rocks are covered by grey clay and

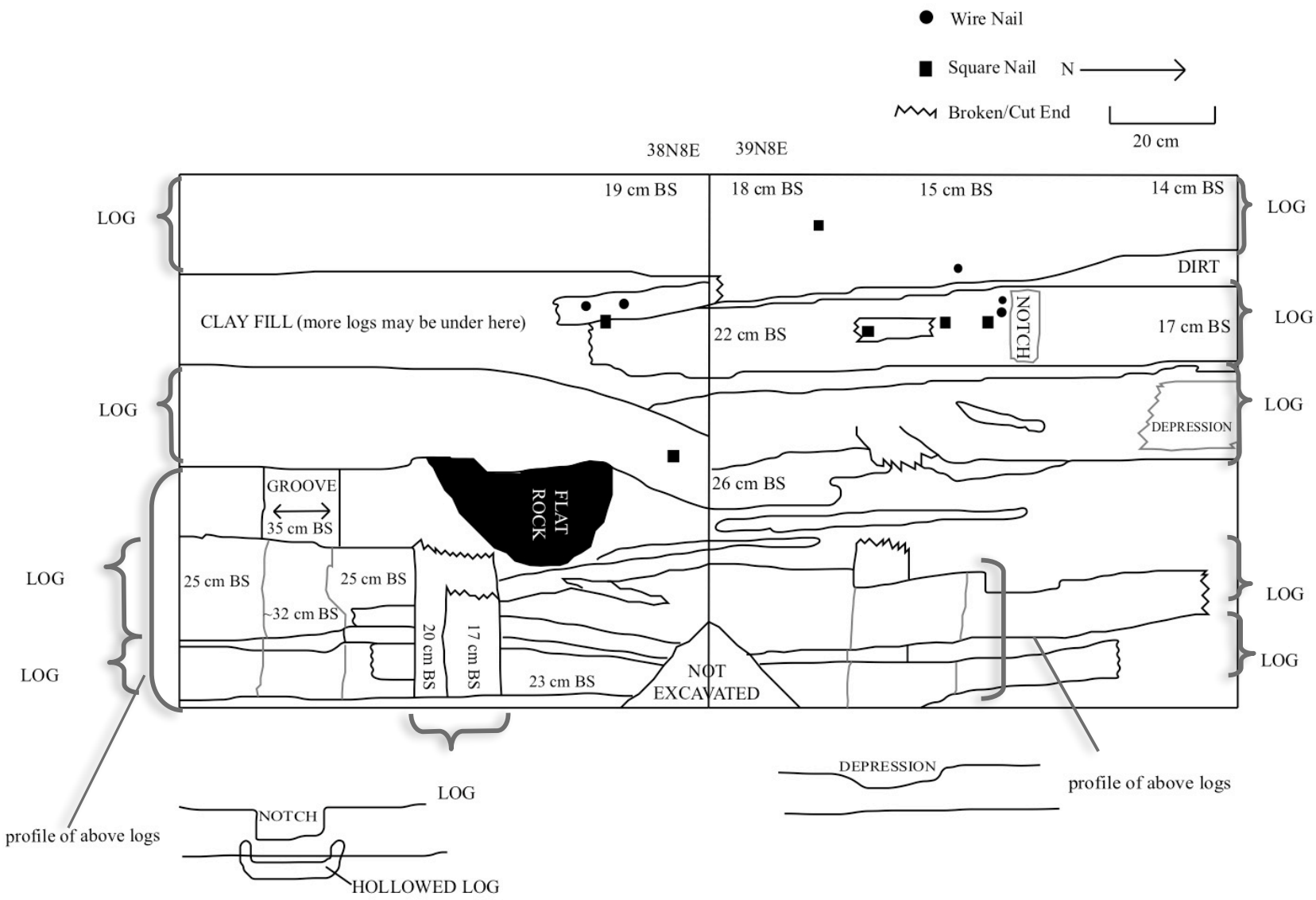

Figure 7.9: Level plan for units 38N8E and 39N8E. Note location of door frame notch and nails.

chinking, which could be from the clay that was once packed around the chimney rocks. Above this are various layers of ash, dark brown loam, a reddish-brown root mat, and a black organic lens with a root layer at the surface. The border separating the woodchip/rock layer and the cellar fill can clearly be see in Figure 7.10 as well. There were no floorboards found in these two units

Figure 7.10: Looking into the cellar (units 39N6E (top) and 39N7E (bottom)). Floorboards run along the north and south edges of both units and square nails are indicated by pink flagging tape.

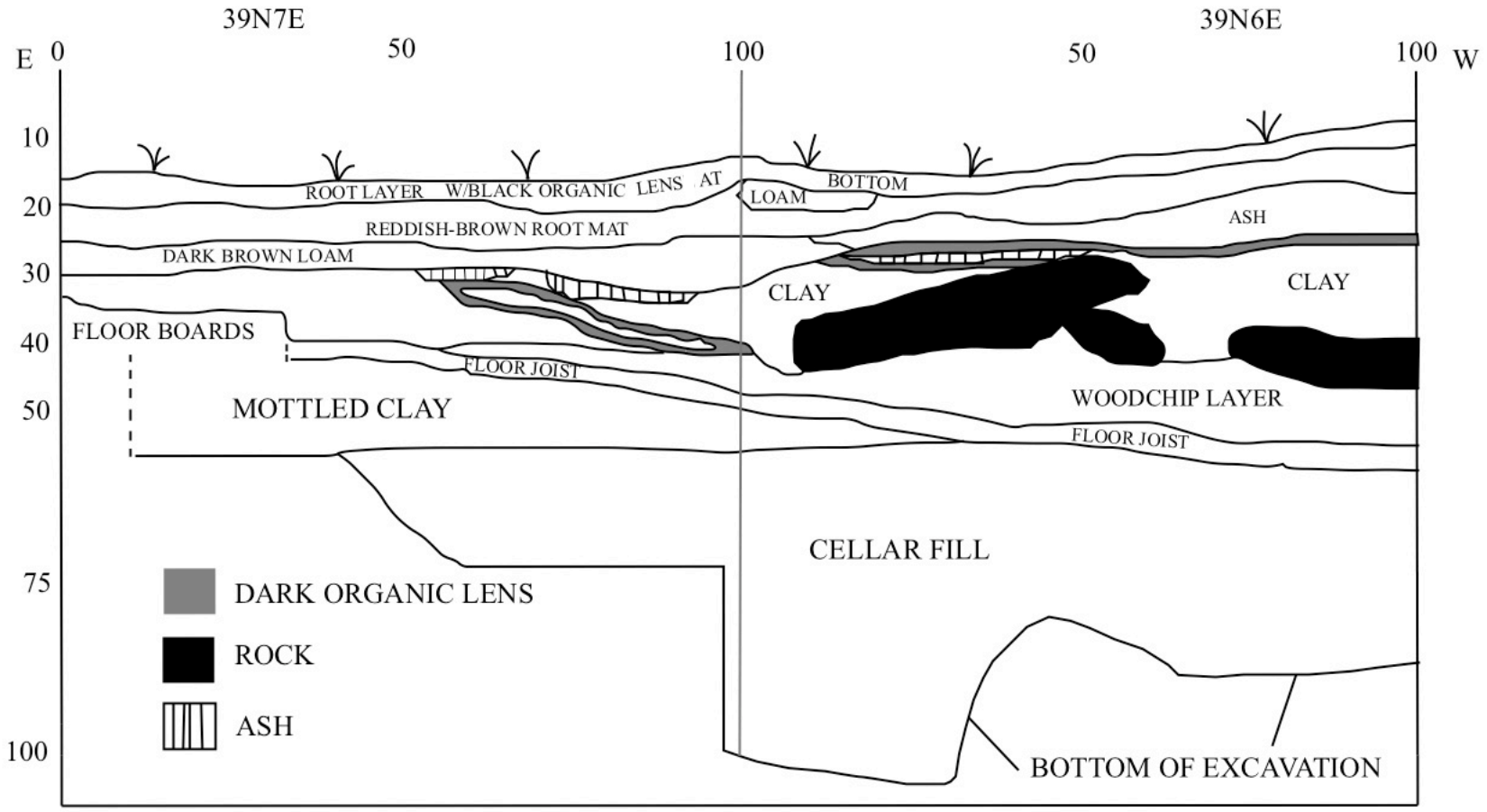

Figure 7.11: South wall profile of units 39N7E and 39N6E.

and because there is such a distinct line separating the area below the floorboards from the woodchip/rock layer, this indicates that the cellar was backfilled after the cabin abandonment, but before the chimney collapsed. It also suggests that some sections of the floorboards and/or the door to the cellar were salvaged. There are a few ash areas labelled in the stratigraphy that signify surface fires or localized fire pits, but they did not affect the archaeological remains of the cabin contained in these units. Units to the north, west, and south need to be excavated to determine the extent of the cellar as well as unit 39N6E to locate the 'bottom' of the cellar.

7.2.3 Fireplace and Surrounding Hearth Area

Many cabins at the Stanley Mission Old Village had two sources of heat, one being a centrally located cast-iron stove and the second a fireplace that was usually situated along the wall opposite the door. Several descriptions of cabin floor plans by Stanley Mission Elders mention both stoves and fireplaces and these will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 8. The fireplace uncovered during the excavation is located directly across from the front door area along the back or west wall of the cabin (Figure 7.1). The archival photographs demonstrate that this layout was used in numerous cabins (Figure 7.5 for the chimney side and Figure 7.7 for the doorway side of the cabins). The north half of the fireplace and hearth were excavated during the 2006 field season and the southern half during the following year. The base of the fireplace was constructed of large cobbles held together by clay. There was evidence of heat-altered clay along the inside of the back wall of the fireplace. The chimney itself collapsed towards the interior of the structure sometime after the cabin was abandoned and many of the rocks were scattered throughout the matrix inside the structure. A large cluster of these stones were found in unit 39N6E and this was identified in the previous section as the woodchip/rock layer (see Figure 7.12).

The fireplace hearth and surrounding apron were also identified during the excavation. The Figure 7.13 image is of unit 38N5E and it reveals the construction of this area of the cabin. The hearth is made of hard-packed grey clay up to the level of the floorboards. The apron located in unit 38N5E includes floorboards that butt up to the hearth and these are nailed down to a floor joist that runs east-west immediately south of the chimney base. There are only a couple of floorboards that are still intact in front (east) of the fireplace and the missing boards appear to have been removed as opposed to decomposing as there is no trace of remnant planks and the

intact boards are in good condition. The apron also includes a small piece of decorative trim nailed to the floor where the floor planks south of the fireplace meet the hearth. The floorboards to the north of the hearth are intact as well. The firebox was completely composed of ash and burned clay and this was only excavated down to level 4 (15-20 cm BS) in both units - 38N4E and 39N4E. In unit 38N4E the accumulated ash in the firebox was first observed in level 3 (10-15 cm BS) and it continues down to the level of the floorboards ~40 cm BS, indicating a build-up of at least 25-30 cm of ash in the fireplace. The depth of the firebox is unknown, but presumably ends at a stone and/or clay base below the cabin floor.

Figure 7.12: Unit 39N6E at ~50-60 cm BS revealing the chimney stones in a woodchip/rock matrix.

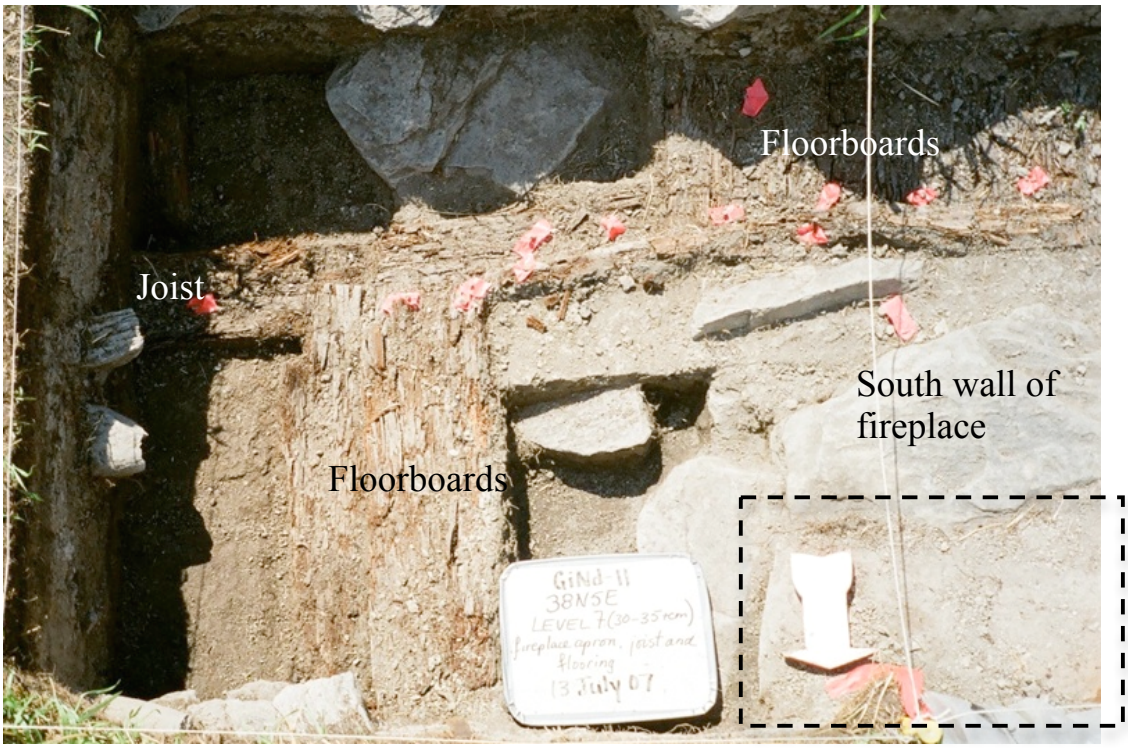

Figure 7.13: Unit 38N5E excavated down to level 7 (30-35 cm BS). Nails are indicated by pink flagging tape and the SE section of the firebox is outlined with dashed lines.

7.3 Discussion

The life of the cabin began sometime during the late 1800s. It was originally constructed using square cut nails some of which are still present where the floorboards are attached to the joists. In subsequent years, repairs were made using wire nails once they became available in Stanley Mission. The length of occupation is unknown, but it is almost certain that the cabin was abandoned and demolished before 1920 because it is not present on Fawcett's 1920 Dominion Survey map or in any of the archival photographs that also date to this year and later.

Most of the cabin remains were salvaged after the final abandonment. The walls and the roof do not appear to have collapsed. Also, some of the floorboards are still intact suggesting that the building was partially dismantled and used for other buildings or furniture. The walls were made of valuable squared timbers and these could easily have been incorporated into another cabin or outbuilding. The remains could even have been used as firewood if the wood was no longer suitable for construction. The preservation of the wall logs, floorboards, and joists still *in situ* imply that the 'missing' cabin elements were removed. If they were absent due to

poor preservation, then the walls, floorboards, and joists that are *in situ* would be in worse condition.

The remains of the cabin are well preserved and this may be attributable to the clay layer covering the entire structure. There was also garbage and organic materials mixed in with this clay, creating a substantial protective layer. The only parts of the cabin that may not have been completely covered are portions of the west and north walls, as seen by dark stains in the soil directly above the wall timber. The upper wall logs in these two walls may have been burned, thus leaving a black, elongated discolouration in the soil. The clay layer also prevented further destruction from scavenging and other environmental processes. The chimney collapse occurred after the remains were partially covered and it is likely that some of these rocks were reused elsewhere in the village for construction. Eventually, all of the wood and rocks were covered by more clay, soil, and vegetation with nothing visible on the surface.

This cabin was suitable for one family to live in during the summer months at the mission. Many households also had tents set up close to their cabins because they were preferred for sleeping. Most of the cooking was done outside but the interior stove and fireplace were also utilized for preparing food. The interior served as one general purpose room where there were beds, tables, chairs, and a stove.

The layout of this cabin is similar to that of most of the other Cree dwellings in the village. It was a one-room rectangular building made of squared timbers with dove-tailed corners and a clay and moss mixture used for insulation. The stone fireplace is situated mid-way along the back wall directly opposite the front door that faced the river. The cabin also has a centrally located cellar for storing food and other belongings. This arrangement will be linked to the discussion in Chapter 8 about the Elders' memories of living in the Old Village. The layout of the excavated cabin will be compared against other cabins, but specifically that of Murdoch McKenzie, to see if we have, in fact, been excavating at Mr. McKenzie's house.

Chapter 8

Combining the Oral History, Archaeological Evidence, and Historical Sources

8.1 Discussion

During the 2001 excavation at the Stanley Mission Old Village site, Margaret Hanna began uncovering the remains of a log cabin that the local Elders suspected to be around the same location as Murdoch McKenzie's cabin from the early 1900s. The second field season held in the summer of 2006 was devoted to following the perimeter of the cabin and we also exposed the chimney firebox and evidence of a doorway. The end of the field work was concluded with a group interview where many of the questions focussed on cabin construction in general, the interior organization of the cabins, and the layout of McKenzie's cabin in particular. We also talked about how space was utilized outside of the cabin; for example, where hearths and other objects were located in the exterior of the building because this was to be the focus of the following excavation season. However, in 2007, the excavation plan changed to try to discover more characteristics of this specific cabin in order to determine if we really were digging at that of Mr. McKenzie and we did not venture very far outside of the cabin's perimeter walls to investigate possible activity areas associated with the building. The following will be a discussion that will bring all resources and lines of evidence together to determine if the building remains are those of McKenzie's cabin or if the cabin is much older.

First I will compare the description of Mr. McKenzie's cabin with the other resources. As previously mentioned, the Elders of Stanley Mission believed that the crew was excavating the remains of his cabin. They described its location within the village as being situated at the end of a row of buildings beyond Maria McKenzie's and Barbara Hardlotte's cabins. The Elders in the group interview also agreed with Sally Milne's illustration of the Old Village and where she had positioned McKenzie's cabin (see Figure 5.4 in Chapter 5). From Fawcett's 1920 Dominion survey map (see Figure 2.1 in Chapter 2) it appears that Murdoch McKenzie's cabin could be the

cabin located furthest east, but there were no names recorded to indicate the inhabitants at that time. Unfortunately, in all of the archival photographs that are taken of this area of the mission, McKenzie's cabin and the excavation area are just outside of the camera's view. Elizabeth Charles drew the floor plan of McKenzie's cabin as she remembers it (refer back to Figure 5.3 in Chapter 5). This drawing was brought out during the group interview for the other Elders to examine and they all agreed that it was an accurate representation. There are, however, some major discrepancies between this floor plan and the archaeological evidence.

There are a few distinct differences between the drawing of McKenzie's cabin and the structural remains uncovered during the excavation. The main contradiction between these two sources is the location of the front door. The Elders clearly illustrated Mr. McKenzie's door as facing the church to the west. The archaeological evidence indicates that the doorway faced the river, like many of the cabins in the Old Village, including Maria McKenzie's and Barbara Hardlotte's cabins seen in Figure 2.8. The north and south wall logs of the excavated cabin each contain a mortise cut into the timber, which is where the king post would have been located. The Elders also mentioned that Murdoch's store that was attached to the side of his cabin and was accessible by a doorway positioned just south of the fireplace, but on the same wall. The excavation did not produce any evidence to suggest that there was a doorway to a lean-to attached to the west wall of the building.

The results of the excavation will now be considered in relation to the oral accounts and archival sources. Not only does the layout of McKenzie's cabin not match the archaeological structural remains, but the Elders also do not remember there being another cabin in this area of the mission settlement. The fact that the cabin remains have been completely covered with clay indicates that it has been abandoned for several decades, most likely more than 100 years. If the Elders cannot recall another cabin in the same vicinity, then it must have been unidentifiable as a cabin by the 1920s. Also, the Elders' perception of the Old Village is distorted by the present state of the site. There are no other standing buildings on the north side of the river, aside from Holy Trinity Church, and thus, the Elders are partially gauging distance and location based on the current tree line. Since the time when most of the population had relocated to the south side of the Churchill, the forest has grown considerably closer to the river. It has completely engulfed the area of the Revillon Frères trader's house, which used to sit outside of the tree line. The

waist-high grass does not make the task of identifying the location any easier, as it disguises all of the building depressions that may be evident on the surface.

Margaret Hanna mentioned in one of her field reports that she had been at the site in previous years when the grass had been burned, clearly revealing building depressions all over the river bank (Hanna 2001a). Maria McKenzie's and Barbara Hardlotte's cabins were situated on the top of a ridge, but the excavation is situated a bit to the southeast of this same ridge. Just to the northeast of the cabin remains is a small depression with a bush growing in the centre. This could be the actual location of Murdoch McKenzie's cabin. With this taken into consideration, the Dominion survey map was consulted to see if there was a cabin situated where the excavated building remains have been found, but there is no indication of a Cree cabin in this area. This means that when Fawcett conducted his survey, the cabin currently under investigation was already demolished and could even have been completely covered by clay. People who constructed buildings in the surrounding area after this cabin was abandoned may have first levelled the land and then tossed the clay onto the demolished cabin, contributing to the process by which the building was buried. On the basis of these findings, it is highly probable that the excavated cabin remains belonged to a building that pre-dated the Elders' oral accounts, the archival photographs, and the 1920 survey map.

The material culture and its distribution also coincide with this hypothesis. The larger concentrations of artifacts generally lie close to the outer walls, i.e. near the front door area and the northwest corner of the cabin. These two areas in particular may represent refuse locales. The concentrations inside the cabin focus on the chimney and firebox area as well as the cellar. The artifacts found in and around the firebox suggest that this could also be a disposal place, while the objects found in the cellar might be indicating an "artifact trap." The artifacts found within these two locations may represent objects more closely associated with the cabin of focus. Items in the fireplace and cellar were placed there at least before the chimney collapsed. The remainder of the artifacts found above the floorboards, most of which are in the clay matrix or still within the sod layer, are less likely associated with this particular cabin, but still offer insight into the types of objects that were part of daily life.

The accumulation of garbage and the complex profiles above the floorboards reflect many years of trash build-up and soil disturbance. This suggests that the structure may have been built quite early in the history of the mission. The cabin was constructed using machine cut nails, but

there is evidence of repairs made with wire nails in the doorway area. This may have some bearing on the age of the structure, although it cannot be said for certain when round nails became available to the people of Stanley Mission. It is apparent that at the time of construction, machine cut nails were primarily used. Other artifacts, such as ceramic fragments and various types of ammunition, can also be used to determine the time frame associated with the cabin. Many of the ceramic fragments have identifiable Spode/Copeland transferprints and some of them date to the early 1800s, while others range from the late 1800s to the 20th century. Early types of ammunition include the musket balls and several cartridge cases. Some have been dated to 1913/1914, but the majority can be linked to manufacturing dates from the latter half of the 1800s to mid-1900s. Although both of these types of artifacts may not have been available in this remote location until well after the initial manufacturing date, they do indicate that objects may have been purchased through the trading posts in the mid-1800s. On the other hand, items such as the Pepsi and Coke bottles, Miracle Whip lid, Fizzies wrappers, and KLIK can are all items that date to post-1950. These items were found on top of the floorboards in the clay and sod layers; this is merely another indication that this area was used for refuse disposal by the 1950s. It may not have even been apparent, due to the lack of surface features, that there had ever been a cabin in this location.

8.2 Conclusions

A major component of this research project was to gather oral accounts from the local Elders and to integrate this information with the historical research and archaeological findings. The other historical resources used in this thesis, described in Chapter 2, are from a European point of view in the form of missionary and traders journals, the Church Missionary Society reports, and the archival photographs. Although the journals and reports do mention the local Cree people, it is primarily in reference to fur trading transactions or how the missionaries interacted with the local people while going about their ecclesiastical duties. Also, many of these resources date to the time when the mission was being established in the mid to late 1800s and the traders' journals represent the early 1900s. The memories of some of the Elders reach back to the 1920s and continue to the end of the Old Village during the 1970s. Therefore, the oral histories acquired from the Stanley Mission Elders not only present a First Nations view on the history of the settlement, they also complete the history of the mission right up to the present. The oral accounts of the Elders help create a more holistic history of Stanley Mission.

The integration of oral history in this archaeological project has been particularly useful during the excavation of the cabin. Through the initial inquiry as to who may have lived in the cabin, I also learned who lived in several of the cabins throughout the village, how they were constructed, and how space was organized both inside and outside of the cabins. The Elders gave specific examples using cabins belonging to their families. As explained in Chapter 5, there was an abundant amount of information gathered from the different interview sessions although not all of it was included in this thesis. I would advise that any future research or archaeological excavation conducted at Stanley Mission use the existing oral histories to their full advantage and it would be absolutely beneficial to continue meeting with the Elders. Their knowledge about the history of the Old Village, their life experiences, personal stories, and genuine interest in the local archaeology are indispensable to this research project. Their continued support and input are greatly appreciated. This project has also taught me the importance and benefits of involving the local community in all parts of the project, from the initial planning stages, to the historical research by means of oral history interviews, and to the field excavation.

One of the goals of this thesis was to demonstrate how oral history can work together with historical archaeology in a successful manner. I think the results produced thus far have proved that this is possible, especially regarding the objective of creating a more complete history of the Old Village. This information is incredibly valuable for any further research at Stanley Mission. Margaret Hanna's interviews in 2000 involved learning about life at the traplines, the yearly cycle of families moving from their traplines to the mission settlement, and daily routines at the Old Village, including schooling, church, and recreational activities. Hanna was also informed about the names of lakes, where people lived in the Old Village, and personal information about the lives of the Elders. The 2006 group interview focussed on how people lived at their cabin, how their belongings and space were organized, and how the tasks were carried out around their home. Future excavations can benefit from this information in terms of locating cabins and other buildings. The knowledge of daily life can provide context for different types of artifacts found at the site and also for interpreting activity areas. An analysis of activity areas had been one of the initial goals of this research project. However, the change in focus of the excavations as a result of what was found in terms of the building remains made this particular goal impossible to fulfill at this point. Nonetheless, the data acquired from the group interviews should make such

an exercise feasible in future projects and in this way contribute even further to an integrated study of life at the Stanley Mission Old Village.

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Appendix A

Artifact Tables

Table A.1
Bead Classification Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Explanation
la#	Monochrome tube bead; # corresponds to colour
lc#	Monochrome tube bead that has been squared; # corresponds to colour
lla#	Tube bead that has been tumbled to round the corners to create round, oval, etc. shapes; # corresponds to colour
VS	Very small- under 2 mm (diameter)
S	Small- 2-4 mm (diameter)
M	Medium- 4-6 mm (diameter)
L	Large- 6-10 mm (diameter)
VL	Very large- over 10 mm (diameter)
R	Round
T	Tube
D	Disk
O	Oval
FA	Facetted
op	Opaque
cl	Clear
tr	Translucent

Table A.2
Bead Class Identification and Quantities

Type	Colour	Size	Shape	Clarity	#
la1	Redwood	VS	T	op	2
la5	Oyster White	VS	T	tr	1
lc1	Redwood	VS	T, 6 sides	cl	4
		M	T, 4 sides	op	1
		M	T, 5 sides	op	1
		L	T, 5 sides	cl	1
lc3	Scarlet	VS	T, 6 sides	op	74
		VS	T, 6 sides	cl	1

lc4	Black	M	T, 4 sides	op	1
lc6	Oyster White	VS	T, 6 sides	op	1
lc10	Turquoise	VS	T, 6 sides	cl	2
lc14	Bright Navy	VS	T, 6 sides	cl	3
lc?	Robin's Egg Blue	VS	T, 6 sides	cl	1
lc?	Emerald Green	VS	T, 6 sides	cl	8
lc?	Purple	VS	T, 6 sides	op	5
lc?	Bright Mint Green	VS	T, 6 sides	cl	1
lla1	Redwood	VS	R	op	55
		S	R	op	7
lla4	Redwood	VS	R	cl	25
		S	R	cl	1
		M	R	cl	1
lla5	Ruby	VS	R	cl	107
		VS	R	op	43
lla6	Black	VS	R	op	1
		L	R	op	1
lla11	Oyster White	VS	R	tr	103
		M	R	tr	1
	Oyster White w/blue centre	VS	R	tr	10
lla13	White	VS	R	op	79
		S	R	op	7
		M	R	op	3
lla17	Light Gold	VS	R	cl	2
		VS	R	op	13
		L	Diamond	op	1
		L	Diamond	tr	1
lla18	Amber	VS	R	cl	2
		VS	R	op	6
lla20	Cinnamon	VS	R	op	5
lla21	Citron	VS	R	op	2
lla22	Mustard Tan	VS	R	op	1
		S	R	op	2
		S	D	op	1
		M	R	op	1
lla23	Bright Mint Green	VS	R	op	11
		S	R	op	1
lla24	Apple Green	VS	R	cl	1
		VS	R	op	9
lla25	Surf Green	VS	R	op	2
lla26	Emerald Green	VS	R	cl	8
		VS	R	op	23

lla28	Dark Palm Green	VS	R	cl	7
		VS	R	op	11
lla31	Turquoise	VS	R	op	10
lla35	Light Aqua Blue	VS	R	op	2
lla36	Aqua Blue	VS	R	op	14
		L	R	op	6
lla40	Robin's Egg Blue	VS	R	cl	53
		VS	R	op	18
		L	R	op	2
lla43	Bright Blue	VS	R	cl	3
		VS	R	op	9
		L	R	op	3
lla44	Cerulean Blue	VS	R	cl	2
		VS	R	op	17
lla46	Shadow Blue	VS	R	op	31
lla48	Dark Shadow Blue	VS	R	op	3
		S	R	op	13
lla52	Ultramarine	VS	R	op	6
lla55	Bright Navy	VS	R	cl	4
		VS	R	op	30
		M	R	op	1
lla58	Light Cherry Rose	VS	R	op	17
		L	O	op	1
flower	White	S	D	op	1
round-semi circle	White	M	R	op	1
multiple directional facets	Scarlet	M	FA	op	1

Table A.3
Charm Attributes (4 Objects)

Cat #	Material	Height/Length/Width (mm)			Description
5401	metal (ferrous); glass	4.3	43.1	6.8	Peapod-shape; 3 out of 7 clear rhinestones; no eye or clasp present
4644	plastic	16.6	21.7	6.1	blimp, clear with metallic coloured paint
4975	plastic	4.6	26.9	10.0	green lion
4820	glass, metal	5.3	14.3	6.7	blue and white coloured glass pieces in a round metal cup; tabs on either side

Table A.4
Footwear Attributes (26 Objects)

Cat #	Object	Provenience	Material	Length/Width (mm)		Description
9593	boot heal	41N6E; NE; 1-2(0-10cmBS)	rubber, leather	78.3	74.1	23 nails
5688	moccasin rubber sole	41N5E N.ext.; NE; 3(10-15cmBS)	rubber	196.0	72.4	~7 1/2 in long
4949	moccadsin rubber sole, toe fragment	43N3E; SE; 4(15-20cmBS)	rubber	56.5	88.5	
9732	moccasin rubber fragment	Interment Excavation	rubber	285		
9624	moccasin rubber	41N6E; SE; 1-2(0-10cmBS)	rubber	240	100	~9 1/2 in long
8343	shoe sole	39N6E; NW; 6(25-30cmBS)	rubber; leather	275	105	
5694	moccasin rubber	41N5E N.ext.; NE; 3(10-15cmBS)	rubber	163.2	70.0	~6 1/2 in long
5731	shoe fragment, heel gel label	41N7E; NE; 2(5-10cmBS)	plastic	19.2	17.4	
8362-8363	shoe sole fragments	39N6E; NE; 6(25-30cmBS)	rubber; leather	<100.5	<71.0	
9725	shoe sole, inner, toe	Interment Excavation	leather	70.7	49.3	
5397-5400	upper boot parts	42N2E; NW; 5(20-25cmBS)	leather	<42.3	<11.2	
9728-9731	upper boot parts	Interment Excavation	leather, metal	<64.2	<41.9	8 eyelets
8696	shoe sole fragment	39N7E; SW; 4(15-20cmBS)	leather	156.0	60.8	7 nails
4063	boot fragment	39N3E; NW; 3(10-15cmBS)	rubber	175	55	partial seam
9623	shoe sole	41N6E; SE; 1-2(0-10cmBS)	leather	240	79.7	~9 1/2 in long
7899	moccasin rubber sole	38N9E; SE; 5(20-25cmBS)	rubber	270	103	~10 1/2 in long
9727	shoe part, toe covering	Interment Excavation	leather, metal	64.0	34.2	4 nails
9726	shoe heal	Interment Excavation	leather, metal	42.0	55.2	19 nails
9724	shoe sole fragment	Interment Excavation	leather, metal	148.3	46.9	13 nails

Table A.5
Button Attributes (49 Objects)

Cat #	Material	Provenience	Height/Width (mm)		Descriptions
4363	shell	41N3E; SE; 2(5-10cmBS)	1.3	12.4	2-hole
9558	metal (ferrous)	40N5E; SE; 5(20-25cmBS)	5.2	18.4	2-hole
4412	metal	41N3E; SW; 4(15-20cmBS)	2.7	22.1	back of button, eye mission

	(ferrous)				
6244	plastic	36N8E; SW; 2(5-10cmBS)	2.9	13.7	2-hole, red
6098	metal (ferrous), cardboard	39N8E; SW; 4(15-20cmBS)	7.7	25.6	2 metal discs w/cardboard inbetween, eye on back
7050	shell	37N2E; SE; 1-2(0-10cmBS)	2.1	11.2	2-hole
9666	brass	41N6E; SW; 4(15-20cmBS)	3.0	13.0	2-hole, recessed centre
8904	metal (ferrous)	39N9E; NE; 3(10-15cmBS)	3.5	13.1	2-hole
8519	plastic	39N7E; NW; 1(0-5cmBS)	2.9	13.5	2-hole, green
8805	ceramic?	39N8E; NE; 5(20-25cmBS)	3.9	14.7	2-hole, grey
6907	plastic	36N8E; SE; 4(15-20cmBS)	3.5	18.8	2-hole, incised ring around edge, red
9678	glass	41N6E; SW; 4(15-20cmBS)	3.5	13.1	2-hole, recessed centre, white
6311	metal (ferrous)	36N8E; SE; 3(10-15cmBS)	4.3	17.0	2-hole, recessed centre
4413	metal (ferrous)	41N3E; SW; 4(15-20cmBS)	3.42	14.8	4-hole, recessed centre, thread attached
8375	shell	39N6E; SE; 6(25-30cmBS)	1.9	11.8	4-hole
6566	shell	39N4E; NW; 4(15-20cmBS)	2.0	12.7	4-hole
5205	plastic	42N2E; NW; 3(10-15cmBS)	2.7	11.2	4-hole, recessed centre, black
6809	brass	36N6E; NW; 5(20-25cmBS)	2.5	13.4	4-hole, recessed centre, "Suspender Patent"
7874	brass	38N9E; NE; 5(20-25cmBS)	1.3	16.9	4-hole, recessed centre
8521	wood	39N7E; SE; 1-2(0-10cmBS)	3.1	17.1	4-hole, recessed centre
6342	brass	36N8E; NW; 5(20-25cmBS)	0.8	15.9	4-hole, recessed centre
8782	metal (cuprous)	39N7E; SW; 8(35-40cmBS)	3.5	15.6	4-hole, recessed centre
8905	metal (ferrous)	39N9E; NE; 3(10-15cmBS)	1.0	13.9	4-hole, recessed centre
6849	glass	36N7E; NE; 3(10-15cmBS)	3.1	12.3	4-hole, recessed centre, milk glass with blue painted edge
8786	glass	39N7E; SW; 8(35-40cmBS)	3.7	13.9	4-hole, milk glass with pink painted edge
8411	glass	39N6E; cellar; 7(30-35cmBS)	3.2	12.3	4-hole, milk glass with pink painted edge
8809	glass	39N8E; NE; 5(20-25cmBS)	4.2	15.0	4-hole, milk glass, recessed centre
6850	glass	36N7E; NE; 3(10-15cmBS)	11.1		2 holes on back, clear ball, raised flower design
7575	metal (ferrous)	38N8E; NE; 4(15-20cmBS)	8.8	21.8	domed, broken eye
8783	brass	39N7E; SW; 8(35-40cmBS)	4.0	15.3	flat with eye loop
7867	glass	38N9E; NW; 5(20-25cmBS)	2.6	10.4	4-hole, milk glass
8763	metal (ferrous)	39N7E; NW; 7(30-35cmBS)	4.1	17.4	metal disc
4926	shell	43N3E; SE; 4(15-20cmBS)	2.5	12.5	2-hole
4881	shell	43N3E; NW; 4(15-20cmBS)	0.7	10.6	2-hole
4880	shell	43N3E; NW; 4(15-20cmBS)	1.9	14.5	2-hole
6091	shell	39N8E; SW; 4(15-20cmBS)	2.1	15.3	4-hole
7380	metal (ferrous)	38N5E; SE; 1-2(0-10cmBS)	9.5	17.2	suspender button
4520	shell	42N3E	2.5	15.6	2-hole
4787	plastic	43N3E; SW; 3(10-15cmBS)	5.5	18.7	2-hole, incised design, brown

6215	plastic	36N8E; SE; 2(5-10cmBS)	1.8	16.6	2-hole, pink
5574	plastic	41N5E; NE; 3(10-15cmBS)	2.6	10.2	2-hole, white
8397	glass	39N6E; cellar; 7(30-35cmBS)	3.0	13.0	4-hole, milk glass, painted pink edge
5127	plastic	42N2E; NW; 2(5-10cmBS)	2.3	18.7	2-hole, white
4411	plastic	41N3E; SW; 4(15-20cmBS)	3.3	12.9	4-hole, white
8398	glass	39N6E; cellar; 7(30-35cmBS)	3.0	13.0	4-hole, white
9271	brass	39N9E; NE; 4(15-20cmBS)	1.4	20.9	button and eye
8556	metal (ferrous)	39N7E; SW; 1-2(0-10cmBS)	3.0	17.3	suspender button
8720-8721	metal (ferrous)	39N7E; NW; 4(15-20cmBS)	2.5	16.9	suspender button, "KING OF THE ROAD"

Table A.6
Pipe Attributes (9 Objects)

Cat #	Object	Material	Provenience	Height/Length/Width (mm)			Descriptions
6233	pipe stem fragment	ball clay	36N8E; SW; 2(5-10cmBS)	7.1	6.3		Bore width=1.7mm
9627	pipe stem fragment	ball clay	41N6E; NW; 3(10-15cmBS)	27.2	69.8		Bore width=1.5mm
9345	pipe stem w/mouth piece	ball clay	39N9E; SE; 4(15-20cmBS)	6.9	43.7		Bore width=2.4mm
8395	pipe stem fragment	ball clay	39N6E; cellar; 7(30-35cmBS)	6.0	30.0		Bore width=1.5
7862	pipe stem fragment	ball clay	38N9E; NW; 5(20-25cmBS)	5.8	18.7		
6814	pipe stem fragment	ball clay	36N6E; SE; 5(20-25cmBS)	8.5	40.8		Bore width=1.5
5418	pipe mouthpiece	vulcanized rubber	42N2E; NE; 5(20-25cmBS)	8.7	47.1	13.4	Part of #5419, black
5419	pipe stem	wood	42N2E; NE; 5(20-25cmBS)	10.1	53.4	17.0	Part of #5418; very crumbly, dark brown
9327	pipe stem fragment	ball clay	39N9E; NW; 4(15-20cmBS)	6.4	16.4		

Table A.7
Comb Fragment Attributes (24 Objects)

Cat #	Object Name	Provenience	Height/Length/Width (mm)			Descriptions
5153	comb tooth	42N2E; SW; 2(5-10cmBS)	1.1	18.4	3.4	white
6309	comb tooth	36N8E; SE; 3(10-15cmBS)	2.5	26.1	4.1	Black
7035	comb tooth	37N2E; NE; 1-2(0-10cmBS)	2.4	19.3	2.8	orange
4525	comb tooth	42N3E	1.0	19.6	4.0	Red
4524	comb tooth	42N3E	1.4	15.2	2.5	Red
7568	comb tooth	38N8E; NE; 4(15-20cmBS)	3.0	11.6	4.4	Black
6027	comb tooth	39N8E; SE; 3(10-15cmBS)	0.6	20.0	5.0	Black

4383	comb body frag	41N3E; NW; 3(10-15cmBS)	19.5	58.8	5.3	no teeth, black
8810	comb tooth	39N8E; NE; 5(20-25cmBS)	1.4	25.3	4.0	Black
5170	comb handle frag	42N2E; SE; 3(10-15cmBS)	4.9	56.3	25.6	no teeth; "made in Canada"; "welgr…", yellow
4808	comb tooth	43N3E; SE (3(10-15cmBS)	0.6	13.9	2.0	white
4809	comb tooth	43N3E; SE (3(10-15cmBS)	2.0	29.9	5.0	Red
5012	comb body frag	43N3E; SW; 4(15-20cmBS)	3.8	31.9	16.3	no teeth, pink
5006	comb tooth	43N3E; SW; 4(15-20cmBS)	0.8	19.3	1.6	Blue
9370	comb tooth	39N9E; SE; 4(15-20cmBS)	1.3	24.9	3.7	Black
5901	comb handle frag	41N8E; NW; 3(10-15cmBS)	3.8	64.5	20.1	Green
7512	comb tooth	38N8E; NW; 3(10-15cmBS)	1.1	42.3	2.7	brown
5208	comb tooth	42N2E; NW; 3(10-15cmBS)	2.7	30.4	5.5	Red
7027	comb tooth	37N2E; NE; 1-2(0-10cmBS)	1.9	12.1	3.8	Black
7036	comb tooth	37N2E; NE; 1-2(0-10cmBS)	2.0	18.7	2.9	orange
5352	comb tooth	42N2E; SW; 4(15-20cmBS)	1.3	28.6	4.9	mint green
4916	comb tooth	43N3E; NE; 4(15-20cmBS)	1.4	27.6	4.7	mint green
4943	comb tooth	43N3E; SE; 4(15-20cmBS)	1.1	12.3	6.8	Tan
6219	comb tooth	36N8E; SE; 2(5-10cmBS)	1.2	31.1	3.5	Black

Table A.8
Ammunition Attributes (53 Objects)

Cat #	Object	Provenience	Rim / Case / Base (inch)			Description	Associated Info
4115	.22 cartridge Long Rifle	39N3E; SE; 3(10-15cmBS)	0.26	0.60	0.21		1857-present
5414	.22 cartridge Long Rifle	42N2E; NE; 5(20-25cmBS)	0.26	0.61	0.22	"D"	D.C. Co.; 1900-present
6021	.22 cartridge Long Rifle	39N8E; NE; 3(10-15cmBS)	0.27	0.61	0.25	"D"	D.C. Co.; 1900-present
7765	.22 cartridge Long Rifle	38N9E; NE; 3(10-15cmBS)	0.26	0.60	0.24		1857-present
5353	.22 cartridge Long Rifle	42N2E; SW; 4(15-20cmBS)	0.26	0.62	0.24		1857-present
7564	.22 cartridge Long Rifle	38N8E; NW; 4(15-20cmBS)	0.27	0.61	0.22		1857-present
4343	.22 cartridge Long Rifle	41N3E; NE; 2(5-10cmBS)	0.27	0.61	0.23	"D"	D.C. Co.; 1900-present
6347	.22 cartridge Long Rifle	39N4E; NW; 2(5-10cmBS)	0.26	0.61	0.23	"D"	D.C. Co.; 1900-present
7840	.22 cartridge Long Rifle	38N9E; SW; 4(15-20cmBS)	0.27	0.62	0.23		1857-present
8370	.22 cartridge Extra Long	39N6E; NE; 6(25-30cmBS)	0.37	0.80	0.31	"D"	D.C. Co.; 1900-present
4344	.22 cartridge Short	41N3E; NE; 2(5-10cmBS)	0.26	0.42	0.22	"D"	D.C. Co.; 1900-present

9688	.30 cartridge case	Interment Excavation	0.49	N/A	0.42	"W.R.A. Co. .30 W.C.F."	1895-1932
8332	.30 cartridge case	39N6E; NE; 5(20-25cmBS)	0.39	2.04	N/A	"W.R.A. Co. .30 W.C.F"	1895-1932
6676	.30 cartridge case	Surface Find	0.50	2.04	0.39	"W.R.A. CO. 30 W.C.F."	1895-1932
6348	.38 cartridge case	39N4E; NW; 2(5-10cmBS)	0.50	2.14	0.41	"Dominion 38-55"	1907-?
7168	.44 cartridge case	37N2E; SW; 4(15-20cmBS)	0.51	1.31	0.46	"D.C. Co. 44-40"	1873-present
5495	.44 cartridge case	42N2E; NW; 5(20-25cmBS)	0.52	1.29	0.45	"WRA Co .44 WCF"	1873-present
6638	.44 cartridge case	39N4E; NE; 7(30-35cmBS)	0.51	1.31	0.44	"D.C. Co. 44-40"	1873-present
8407	cartridge case	39N6E; cellar; 7(30-35cmBS)	0.35	0.78	N/A	Unknown calibre	
6068	cartridge case	39N8E; SE; 3(10-15cmBS)	0.50	2.12	0.42	"KYNOCH 38???"	
8297	cartridge case	39N6E; NE; 4(15-20cmBS)	0.53	2.22	0.33	Unknown calibre	
6652	cartridge case	Interment excavation	0.52	1.18	N/A	Unknown calibre	
5035	cartridge case	43N3E; NW; 5(20-25cmBS)	0.07	1.05	N/A	Unknown calibre	
8906	12-gauge shotgun shell base	39N9E; NE; 3(10-15cmBS)	0.87	0.52	0.80	"DOMINION made in No 12 Canada CANUCK"	1913/1914-?
8702	12-gauge shotgun shell base	39N7E; SW; 4(15-20cmBS)	0.90	0.29	0.81	"DOMINION NO 12 EMPTY"	
4111	16-gauge shotgun shell base	39N3E; SE; 3(10-15cmBS)	0.78	0.35	0.74	"DOMINION NO 16 EMPTY"	
4390	16-gauge shotgun shell base	41N3E; NE; 3(10-15cmBS)	0.44	0.81	N/A	"DOMINION No. 16 CANUCK"	1913/1914-?
5060	20-gauge shotgun shell base	43N3E; NE; 5(20-25cmBS)	0.74	0.55	0.70	"Dominion Made in Canada Canuck No. 20"	1913/1914-?
8384	20-gauge shotgun shell base	39N6E; SE; 6(25-30cmBS)	0.74	0.36	0.69	"ELEY LONDON GASTIGHT NO. 20"	1824-present
6634	shotgun shell base	39N4E; NW; 7(30-35cmBS)	0.87	0.42	0.81	Unknown gauge	
6581	shotgun shell base	39N4E; NE; 4(15-20cmBS)	0.78	0.30	0.72	Unknown gauge	
6104	shotgun shell base	39N8E; SW; 4(15-20cmBS)	0.76	0.35	0.72	Illegible; unknown gauge	
7900	shotgun shell base	38N9E; SW; 5(20-25cmBS)	0.74	0.37	0.70	Unknown gauge	
8816	shotgun shell base	39N8E; SW; 5(20-25cmBS)	0.88	0.30	0.82	Unknown gauge	

7403	shotgun shell base	38N5E; SW; 3(10-15cmBS)	N/A	0.55	0.74	Illegible; unknown gauge	
7402	shotgun shell base	38N5E; SW; 3(10-15cmBS)	0.76	0.28	N/A	Illegible; unknown gauge	
8342	shotgun shell base	39N6E; SW; 5(20-25cmBS)	0.76	0.34	0.71	Unknown gauge	
8316	shotgun shell base	39N6E; SE; 4(15-20cmBS)	0.76	0.32	0.71	Unknown gauge	
8347	shotgun shell base	39N6E; NW; 6(25-30cmBS)	0.80	0.35	0.75	"D.C. Co No 16 CROWN"	1907-present
4514	shotgun shell case	42N3E	0.81	2.48	0.76	"WINCHESTER NO. 16"	1875-present
6664	shotgun shell case	Surface Find	0.70	2.50	0.74	"ELEY LONDON"	1860-1925
8751	lead shot	39N7E; NW; 6(25-30cmBS)	0.17				
8822	lead shot	39N8E; SW; 5(20-25cmBS)	0.16				
9325	lead shot	39N9E; NW; 4(15-20cmBS)	0.18				
9356	lead shot	39N9E; SE; 4(15-20cmBS)	0.16				
9355	lead shot	39N9E; SE; 4(15-20cmBS)	0.22				
8789	musket ball	39N7E; SW; 4(15-20cmBS)	0.58				
6106	musket ball	39N8E; SW; 4(15-20cmBS)	0.55				
8345	musket ball	39N6E; NW; 6(25-30cmBS)	0.59				
6335	musket ball	36N8E; NW; 4(15-20cmBS)	0.50				
8738	percussion cap	39N7E; SW; 5(20-25cmBS)		0.13	0.20		
7787	percussion cap	38N9E; NW; 4(15-20cmBS)		0.22	0.20		
8734	percussion cap	39N7E; SE; 5(20-25cmBS)		0.10	0.21		

(All Associated Information is from Steinhauer 2010)

Table A.9
Stoneware Fragment Attributes (10 Objects)

Cat #	Object	Provenience	Thickness (mm)	Length (mm)	Width (mm)	Description
7476	body frag w/broken handle, hollowware, stoneware	38N8E; 1-2(0-10cmBS)	7.9	61.4	55.2	buff paste; brown glaze
7492	body frag, hollowware, stoneware	38N8E; SW; 3(10-15cmBS)	6.4	14	9.4	buff paste; brown glaze
4396	body frag, stoneware	41N3E; SE; 3(10-15cmBS)	3.5	21	11.83	light brown paste; mottled brown glaze

6667	body frag, hollowware, stoneware	Surface Find	7.5	73.1	35.2	beige paste; clear slip/brown flecks
6645	body frag, hollowware, stoneware	Interment excavation	7.5	58.5	43.5	beige paste; dark brown salt glaze slip
6229	body frags (2), stoneware	36N8E; SE; 2(5-10cmBS)	7.4	105.8	56	fit together; buff paste; clear slip/brown flecks
6644	rim frag, hollowware, stoneware	Interment excavation	6.6	53.1	46.4	White/grey paste; clear glaze; turned-incised line below rim
7475	rim-body frag, hollowware, stoneware	38N8E; 1-2(0-10cmBS)	6.3	58.5	89.1	Buff paste; glaze-white
6666	rim-body frag, hollowware, stoneware	Surface Find	9.8	98.6	55.6	White/grey paste; clear glaze; turned-incised line below rim

Table A.10
Identified Spode/Copeland Patterns and Information

Pattern	Manufacturing Dates	Other Manufacturers	Additional Information
B700	ca. 1838--post- 1847	W.T. Copeland	Name refers to earliest pattern number
B772	ca. 1839--post- 1882	W.T. Copeland	Name refers to earliest pattern number
Broseley	ca. 1818--post- 1847	Spode; Copeland and Garrett; W.T. Copeland	Very similar to the Spode pattern Temple; made by other manufacturers throughout the 19th century
Elcho	1863-?		
Flower Vase	ca. 1828-20th century	Copeland and Garrett; W.T. Copeland	
Honeysuckle	1855--post 1882	Copeland; Wallis Gimson & Co.	"Empire" is an alternative name
Ionian	1851-20th century		
Louis Quatorze border	1844-?	Copeland and Garrett; W.T. Copeland	Also border for Continental Views
Macaw	ca. 1838--post- 1872	Copeland and Garrett; W.T. Copeland	Shares the same border as Pagoda
Pagoda	ca. 1838--post- 1872	Copeland and Garrett	Shares the same border as Macaw
Rural Scenes	1850-20th century	W.T. Copeland	Has many different centres
Thistle	ca. 1869-20th century	W.T. Copeland and Sons	
Willow	1870s-20th century	Copeland and Garrett; others	Early version of Willow is made by Spode

(All information in Table A.10 is taken from Sussman 1979)

Table A.11
Spike Attributes (10 Objects)

Artifact #	Type	Unit	Quad	Level	Length (in)	Description
6290	wire	36N8E	NE	3(10-15cmBS)	5.5	complete, straight
6147	wire	39N8E	SW	4(15-20cmBS)	5.25	complete, bent
6146	wire	39N8E	SW	4(15-20cmBS)	4.75	complete, bent
5835	wire	41N7E	NE	4(15-20cmBS)	5.5	complete, bent
4437	machine cut	42N3E			7	complete, straight
9700	machine cut	Interment Excavation			4.25	complete, straight
6663	machine cut	Surface Find			N/A	incomplete, bent, broken shank
6662	machine cut	Surface Find			N/A	incomplete, bent, broken shank
7379	wire	38N5E	NE	1-2(0-10cmBS)	5	complete, bent
8644	wire	39N7E	SE	4(15-20cmBS)	5.25	complete, straight

Table A.12
Slotted and Countersunk Screw Attributes (8 Objects)

Artifact #	Unit	Quad	Level	Length (in)	Description
6153	39N8E	SE	4(15-20cmBS)	NA	incomplete, straight, broken shank
9222	39N9E	SE	3(10-15cmBS)	1	complete, straight
7939	38N9E	SE	6-7(25-35cmBS)	0.75	complete, straight
5182	42N2E	SE	3(10-15cmBS)	1.5	complete, bent
7823	38N9E	SE	4(15-20cmBS)	1.25	complete, straight
6096	39N8E	SW	4(15-20cmBS)	1.25	complete, straight
5754	41N7E	SE	2(5-10cmBS)	3	complete, straight
5821	41N7E	SE	3(10-15cmBS)	1	complete, straight

Table A.13
Corrugated Fastener Attributes (3 objects)

Artifact #	Material	Unit	Quad	Level	Thickness (mm)	Length (mm)	Width (mm)
7879	metal, ferrous	38N9E	NE	5(20-25cmBS)	2.9	14.8	12.9
7261	metal, ferrous	38N3E	SE	4(15-20cmBS)	3.7	27	14.6
4045	metal, ferrous	39N3E	NW	3(10-15cmBS)	2.7	36.9	8.5

Table A.14
Slate Fragment Attributes (11 Objects)

Artifact #	Unit	Quad	Level	Thickness (mm)	Length (mm)	Width (mm)
5300	42N2E	NE	4(15-20cmBS)	1.5	18.9	10.2
4519	42N3E			2.4	21	18
7501	38N8E	SW	3(10-15cmBS)	2.6	21.1	19.4
4795	43N3E	SE	3(10-15cmBS)	3.3	26.1	18.1
8348	39N6E	NW	6(25-30cmBS)	4.5	48.9	36.4
7500	38N8E	SW	3(10-15cmBS)	2.6	35.3	18
5071	43N3E	SE	5(20-25cmBS)	1.8	34.8	22.8
8757	39N7E	NW	7(30-35cmBS)	0.6	16.2	7.1
4518	42N3E			2.4	38.6	25.1
7508 (2)	38N8E	NW	3(10-15cmBS)	2.7	31	25.1
7499 (2)	38N8E	SW	3(10-15cmBS)	2.6	55.4	53.1

Table A.15
Fizzies Packaging Attributes

Artifact #	Unit	Quad	Level	Descriptions
4703-4706	43N3E	NE	3(10-15cmBS)	label illegible
4573	43N3E	NE	2(5-10cmBS)	Side 1: "TABLET / COLA / DIRECTIONS: DROP TAB.. IN / … GLASS OF ICE WATER / …"; purple and blue colour
4764	43N3E	SW	3(10-15cmBS)	label illegible; orange colour
4765	43N3E	SW	3(10-15cmBS)	label illegible; orange colour
4766	43N3E	SW	3(10-15cmBS)	label illegible; orange colour
4763	43N3E	SW	3(10-15cmBS)	Side 1: "DISSOLVED / FIZZIES / TABLET / ORANGE / DIRECTIONS: DROP TABL…/ 6-8 OZ. GLASS OF ICE WAT…/ WATCH IT FIZZ . NO STIRRING / NO SUGAR NEEDED /…"; Side 2: "...FIZZIES / COMPRIME"; orange colour
4762	43N3E	SW	3(10-15cmBS)	Side 1: "WHEN COM… /FIZZIES/TABLET/CHERRY/…TIONS: DROP TA… IN/…/…STIRRING/…/COMPLETELY…/; Side 2: "FIZZ/CERISE/INDICATIONS: …"; red colour
4797	43N3E	SE	3(10-15cmBS)	Side 1: "FIZZIES"; green colour
4798	43N3E	SE	3(10-15cmBS)	Side 1: "…ZZIES/…ON-LIME/"; green colour
4761	43N3E	SW	3(10-15cmBS)	Side 1: "FI…/ CHERRY…"; pink colour
4800	43N3E	SE	3(10-15cmBS)	label illegible; orange colour
4799	43N3E	SE	3(10-15cmBS)	label illegible; orange colour

Table A.16
Calculation of MNI with NISP and MNE (left and right) Quantities

Species	Element	NISP	MNE (right)	MNE (left)	MNE (indet)	MNI
Odocoileus virginianus	Fused 2nd/3rd Carpals	1	-	-	1	1
	Lunate	2	1	1	0	1
	Scaphoid	1	1	0	0	1
	Scapula	1	1	0	0	1
	Femur	1	-	-	1	1
Ursus americanus	1st Phalanx	1	-	-	1	1
	2nd Phalanx	1	-	-	1	1
	3rd Prox. Metatarsal	1	1	0	0	1
	5th Metacarpal	1	0	1	0	1
	Claw	2	-	-	2	1
	Phalanges	2	-	-	2	1
	Sesamoid	2	-	-	2	1
	Canine	1	-	-	1	1
Castor canadensis	Clavicle	2	-	-	2	1
	Humerus	2	1	1	0	1
	Innominate	3	3	0	0	3
	Femur	3	2	1	0	2
	Tibia	1	0	1	0	1
Lepus americanus	Cervicle Vertebra	2	0	0	2	1
	Calcaneous	4	3	1	0	3
	Dentary	23	16	6	0	16
	Femur	18	6	4	1	6
	Fibula	1	0	1	0	1
	Humerus	28	14	11	0	14
	Innominate	10	5	5	0	5
	Lumbar Vertebra	5	0	0	5	1
	Maxilla	4	4	0	0	4
	Metapodial	13	0	0	13	1
	Metatarsal	3	3	0	0	1
	Navicular	1	1	0	0	1
	Occipital/Parietal	1	0	0	1	1
	Phalanx	12	3	0	9	2
	Radius	13	2	5	4	5
	Scapula	19	9	10	0	10
	Thoracic Vertebra	3	0	0	3	1
	Tibia	26	12	9	0	12
	Ulna	12	8	4	0	8
Ondatra zibethicus	Humerus	2	0	2	0	2
	Femus	1	0	1	0	1
	Innominate	2	0	2	0	2
	Tibia	2	1	1	0	1
	Dentary	3	1	2	0	2
Bucephala clangula	Ferculum	5	1	0	4	3
	Carpometacarpus	1	0	1	0	1
	Coracoid	1	0	1	0	1
	Ulna	1	0	1	0	1
	Femur	2	1	1	0	1
	Scapula	1	0	1	0	1
Anas platyrhynchos	Coracoid	3	2	1	0	2

	Femur	3	1	2	0	2
	Ferculum	1	0	0	1	1
	Humerus	2	0	2	0	2
	Sternum	1	0	1	0	1
	Ulna	1	1	0	0	1
Anatidae indeterminate	Carpometacarpus	5	1	1	3	2
	Coracoid	2	1	1	0	1
	Femur	3	2	1	0	2
	Ferculum	1	0	0	1	1
	Humerus	2	1	1	0	1
	Scapula	3	1	2	0	2
	Sternum	1	0	0	1	1
	Tarsometatarsus	1	0	0	1	1
	Tibiotarsus	8	5	3	0	5
	Ulna	2	1	1	0	1
Catostomus catostomus	Angular	4	0	0	4	2
	Ceratohyoid	2	1	1	0	1
	Cleithrum	2	0	0	2	1
	Cranial	33	0	0	33	1
	Frontal	3	2	1	0	2
	Gill Raker	3	2	1	0	2
	Hyomandibular	2	1	1	0	1
	Interpercular	5	0	0	5	3
	Maxilla	1	0	0	1	1
	Opercular	8	4	3	1	4
	Parasphenoid	3	0	0	3	1
	Preopercular	4	0	0	4	2
Esox lucius	Articular	1	1	0	0	1
	Ceratohyoid	2	0	0	2	1
	Cleithrum	1	1	0	0	1
	Dentary	9	6	3	0	6
	Frontal	1	1	0	0	1
	Maxilla	2	1	1	0	1
	Prevomer	3	0	0	3	2
	Quadrate	2	1	1	0	1
Stizostedion vitreum	Articular	7	3	3	1	3
	Basicranium	2	1	1	0	1
	Ceratohyoid	3	0	1	2	1
	Cleithrum	4	1	0	3	1
	Dentary	6	3	3	0	3
	Ecopterygoid	1	0	0	1	1
	Frontal	1	1	0	0	1
	Hyomandibular	1	0	1	0	1
	Maxilla	4	2	2	0	2
	Opercular	4	0	2	2	2
	Paletine	2	2	0	0	2
	Postcleithrum	2	1	1	0	1
	Premaxilla	1	0	1	0	1
	Preopercular	8	3	5	0	5
	Quadrate	3	2	1	0	2

Appendix B

Interview Questions

2000 Interview Questions

General Life:
What was life like for girls/boys?
When did people get married?
Where would they live?
How would they decide where to live?
When were new houses built, after marriage, children, or when?
When did people sometimes live with family or in-laws after getting married?
    If so, whose?
    How would they decide?

Was there a time when the village was deserted because people went out to the trapline?
    Who stayed behind?
    What else did people do besides hunt, fish, and trap?
    Did some people have other jobs?

What did people eat?
    What kinds of: fish, vegetables, meat, bread, berries, etc?
    Did every house or family have their own garden?
    What did they grow?

What kinds of clothes did people wear?
    Did they make most of their clothes?
    The women from photo SB590 are all dressed alike, was this how most women dressed?
    What did men wear?

Do you remember anyone who used to make birchbark canoes?
    Is there anyone around here now that knows how to make one?
    How long would it take to make one?
    Did you ever see one being made?
    Can you remember anything about how they were made?
    What did they use them for?

Were there women who made mats from bark?
    What were they used for?
    Are there women today that know how to make them?

Do you remember the fur store?
    When did it close down?
    Were there other stores/businesses?

What was the summer like?
    What did people do for fun in the winter?

What were celebrations like?
    Christmas?
    Holidays?

School:
What was the school like?
How many students were there?
Who taught school?
    Teacher's names?
    Priests?
What were you taught in school?
How many grades did the school go up to?
Were girls and boys taught different things?
What did the school look like inside?
Where was it located?
Was there only one school?
How old were you when you started school?
    When did you leave?

Houses:
Where did you live?
    Did you live in the village or across the river?
What was your house like?
How big was it?
    How many rooms?
    How many people/room?
How were the houses built?
    Who built them?
    What were they built with?
Did they have basements?
How were they heated in the winter?
Did people use the stoves for heat and cooking purposes?
Did people cook inside or outside?
    Did that depend on the seasons?
Did people use tents as well?
    When?
Did people use wall tents as well or just the teepees?

Parsonage:
Where did the priest live?
    What was his house like?
What was it built with?
    Who built it?

How many rooms?
Were the rooms added on?
Was there a basement?
Did they have a garden?
Where was it?

General:
Can you remember some family names and where they lived?

(Sid Keighly?)

Place names: (taken from HM's HBC archive notes)

Fine Cloth Lake	Lac Brochet	Trout Lake	Bluff Island
Green Lake	Deer's Lake	Squirrel Lake	Begal? Island
Pitching Lake	Keiche[orI?]sakeek	Pipe Portage	Big Island
Rottenstone	White Moose Lake	Frog Portage	Trout Narrows
Nepakanow Lake	Little Vermillion L.	Mossy Portage	Big Bay (Bay Is.?)

Do you have any specific memories about this village that you would like to tell us about?

2006 Interview Questions

1. When did you live at the original location of Stanley Mission?
2. Where was/were your residence(s) located and what kind of structure was this?
3. Who else lived with you?
4. Did you live at the village throughout the entire year?
5. What do you remember about living at the Old Village?
6. What were some of your daily activities?
7. Where were these activities carried out? (Inside the house, outside the house, in the garden, etc.)
8. What kinds of goods did you buy from the trading post or other stores? (food, clothing, dishes, hunting equipment, craft items, toys, personal items, etc.)
9. Did traditional hunting play a large role in your household's food consumption?
10. Regarding your housing structure, how was the interior space organized? (where was the furniture located, where were things, stored, etc., were there separate rooms)
11. Did you have additional storage areas outside of your house? (storage pits, smaller buildings, etc.)
12. Do you remember anything about the houses occupied by Europeans? (where were they located, who may have lived in them, how were they associated with the community)

Since we will be focusing our excavation at the site of Murdoch McKenzie's house, the following questions pertain to this area of study:
13. Who was Murdoch McKenzie?
14. Who was McKenzie related to, who was his family?
15. What type of business did he run and how did he run it?

16. Where was his business located?

In past excavation seasons, building remains have been found (including floor beams and planks). The following questions deal with carpenters in the community and their building practices:

17. Who were the carpenters in the community?
18. What types of buildings did they build? (houses, stores, school, tool sheds, etc.)

Appendix C

Discovery Series 2008

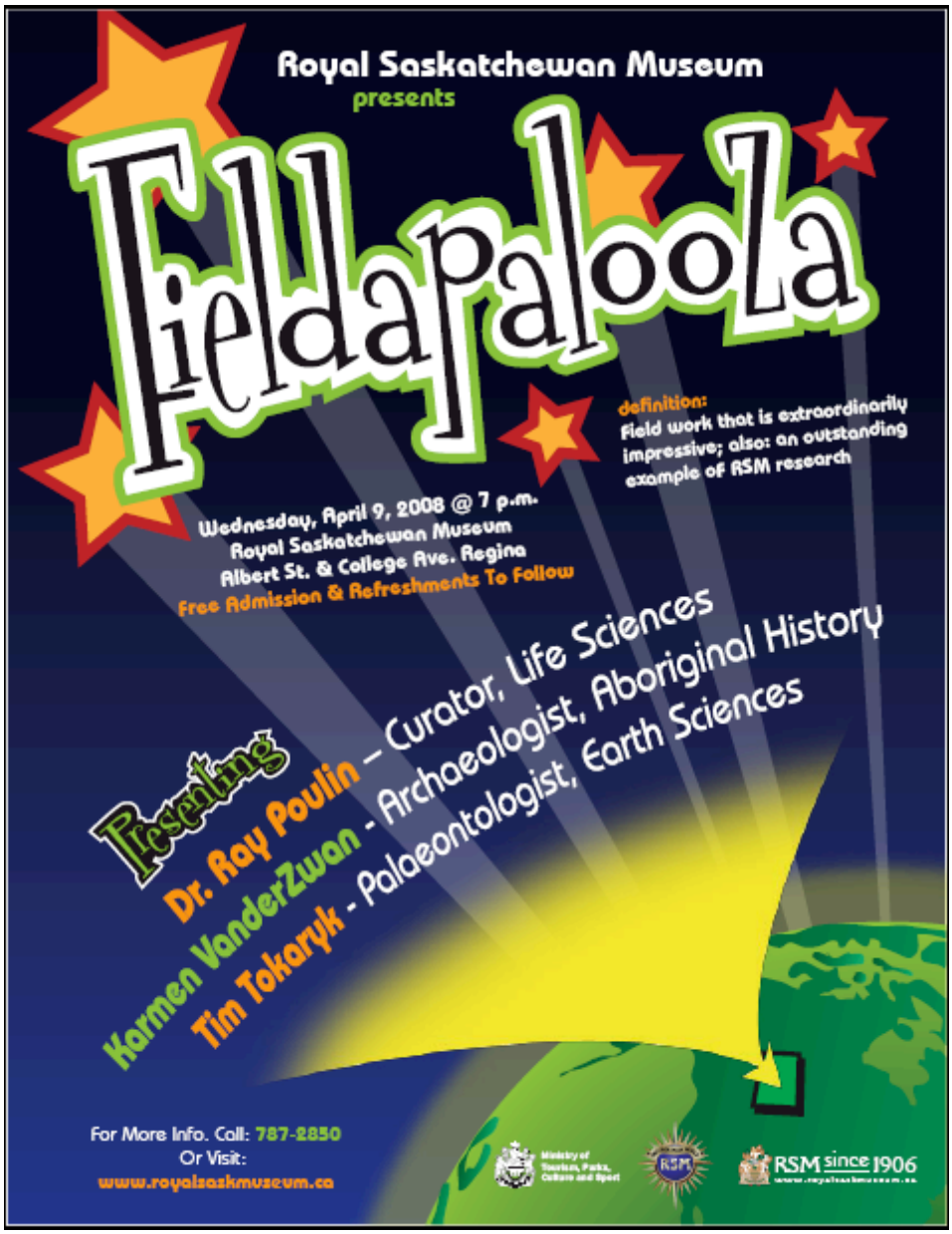

Figure C.1: Discovery Series 2008 – Fieldapalooza poster (created by the RSM).

Figure C.2: Discovery Series display case featuring moccasin rubber, birch bark basket, and pieces to the cup and pin game (photo courtesy of K. VanderZwan).

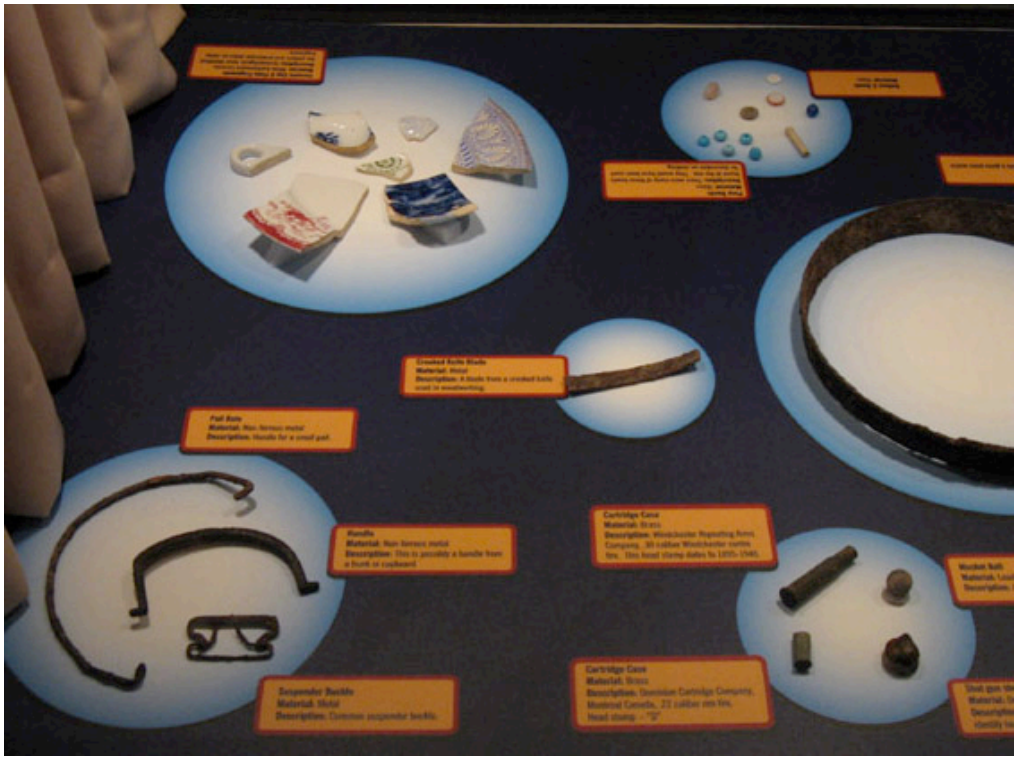

Figure C.3: Discovery Series display case (left side) featuring metal hardware, ceramic fragments, crooked knife blade, beads, ammunition, and barrel hoop (photo courtesy of K. VanderZwan).

Figure C.4: Discovery Series display case (right side) featuring bale seal, incised stone, bottles, axe head, and tin cans (photo courtesy of K. VanderZwan).